

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.—No. LXII.—NEW SERIES.

FEBRUARY 1, 1851.

PRICE 5d.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES IN 1850,

BY JOHN CANDLER AND G. W. ALEXANDER.

Having been requested by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to undertake a mission to the British West India colonies, in order to ascertain, as far as practicable, the condition of those colonies, and especially of the recently emancipated peasantry, and also to inspect, as opportunity might allow, some of the foreign West India colonies, we left home, for these objects, in the early part of the eleventh month (November), 1849. We were kindly furnished, by Earl Grey, with a letter of introduction to the several colonial governors; and from Lord Palmerston, to the official representatives of Great Britain, in such foreign colonies as we might visit in the course of our tour, desiring them to afford us every assistance in their power. We were the bearers also of a letter of introduction from the Marquis de Tracy, late Minister of Marine and Colonies, at Paris, to the Governor-general of the French West India possessions, recommending us to his especial notice and attention. We were similarly furnished, at the request of Lord Palmerston, with a letter from the Swedish Government to the Governor of St. Bartholomew, and to the Swedish consuls in some foreign colonies. Besides this, through the kind offices of the Foreign Secretary, we were assured of assistance in the object of our visit to the Danish colonies, to which instructions had been forwarded to that effect by the Government of Denmark.

It should be premised, that this visit was undertaken, so far as the British West Indies were concerned, at a time of general gloom and difficulty, consequent on a great change in the commercial policy of Great Britain, and the recent money panic, which had prostrated several large commercial houses extensively connected with the West India colonies. From these causes, the report which we have to give will be tinged with a darker colouring than we believe the colonies to exhibit at the present moment. In order to present a succinct view of the several questions to which our attention was directed, we proceed to notice the colonies separately, as it will be found that each presents itself under an aspect somewhat different to the rest. Soon after leaving Southampton by the steam packet "Thames," we encountered stormy weather, which greatly impeded her progress, and prevented our reaching the Bermudas until two or three days after the vessel was due. It was peculiarly grateful to us, after a rough passage of more than two weeks, to come in view of this peaceful group of "sunny islands in a stormy main," and to pass a few hours on shore. We remembered, with satisfaction, that Bermuda and Antigua were the first of our colonies to give unconditional freedom to the slaves,—a line of policy honourable to both of them, and which has been attended, as a sound and righteous policy always is, with beneficial consequences. The voyage from Bermuda to Barbadoes occupied seven days. It would be difficult to a stranger, who has never travelled in a tropical region, to imagine the beauty of the West India islands, or the exbilaration produced by sailing among them when the sea is tranquil, and the weather propitious. We passed, on this occasion, within sight of almost all the smaller islands of the Caribbean sea, and touched at many of them. The mountains, the hill sides, the valleys, all clothed with luxuriant verdure and vegetation—the cocoa-nut palm—the broad-leaved plantain and banana, and the no less beautiful cane fields, are all objects of deep interest to those accustomed only to temperate climes, and never tire the longing sight. And then the air is so pure and transparent, and the climate at sea so delightful, that the voyager finds an ample recompence for past fears and sickness. All nature

—the sky above, the ocean below, the scenes on land, both near and distant, seem redolent with joy.

BARBADOES.

We reached this island, the most southerly of the windward group, on the 27th of the month, and remained there thirteen days. During our stay, we had more than one interview with Sir Wm. Colebrook, the Governor, who showed us much polite attention and kindness; and we conversed with, and obtained information from Sir Boucher Clarke, the Chief Justice, various members of the legislature, several magistrates and planters, and ministers of religion of the different denominations. We also visited the labourers on several estates, and inquired into the condition of the working classes who reside in Bridgetown, the capital of the island. During our visit to this, and the other dependencies of Great Britain, in this part of the world, we received a kind and cordial welcome from all classes of the community, and a disposition was manifested in every colony, and in almost every quarter, to promote the objects of our mission. If, therefore, we fail in correctly exhibiting the actual condition of our West India colonies, it must be attributed, not to the want of information open to us, but to the comparative shortness of the time devoted to investigation, and to our own inexperience and want of judgment.

The island of Barbadoes, with an area not much larger than the Isle of Wight, has a stated population of 131,741 persons. It is more thickly peopled, in proportion to its extent, than China itself. Its surface is cultivated like a garden, and the roads are good. We were informed that, previous to the period of emancipation, provisions, usually denominated *bread-kind*, such as yams, plantains, and sweet potatoes, were largely cultivated; but that a change took place at the coming in of freedom. Some of the planters believed that the continued cultivation of articles of food on the estates, by making the means of subsistence abundant, would render the emancipated labourer, to a great extent, independent. They resolved, therefore, to devote more land to the growth of sugar, and less to provisions. A system of this sort being largely acted upon, a natural consequence followed, which ought to have been foreseen: dear food necessitated high wages, and the land, for want of alternate crops, yielded less than before. Within the last few years, a return has been made to former modes of cultivation. The island now furnishes, from its own fields, a large supply of bread-kind to its population, and at the same time grows more sugar than ever it produced under slavery. During the last three years of slavery, the amount of sugar exported to this country was as follows: viz., 1831—379,052 cwt.; 1832—266,465 cwt.; 1833—384,971 cwt.; whereas, during the last three years, the quantities were as follow: 1847—469,021 cwt.; 1848—403,390 cwt.; 1849—488,025 cwt. The internal consumption, since emancipation, is estimated at about one tenth of the whole amount of sugar grown in the island. Provisions are cheap and wages low. The wages of a first-class prædial labourer, man or woman, are from 7½d. to 10d. per day, according to the season of the year, that is, whether in or out of crop. In extenuation of this very low rate of wages, at first sight oppressively low, the planters urge that a day's labour, by task-work, is usually performed in five or six hours. This, in many instances, is undoubtedly true; but the task so performed is fully equal to the amount of a day's work under slavery, and arises from the fact, so constantly stated by abolitionists, that a free man putting out all his muscular strength, because he uses his own limbs for his own benefit, will perform much more than a slave, who works without compensation, and solely under the stimulus of fear. The labourers on the sugar plantations of almost all our

colonies prefer working extremely hard for a short time, and when their task is done, to sit down contentedly to their meals, and take rest. If not exhausted by toil, they sometimes devote a small remaining portion of the day to their own provision grounds. The first five working days of the week are usually devoted by the labourers to plantation employment for wages; the last working day, "Saturday," they claim for their own use, in cultivating their allotments, and to go to market. It must be quite evident that a labourer working only five days in the week, at an average of 9d. a day, will be unable, if he have no other means of subsistence, to live with comfort, and support a family. Happily for himself, in Barbadoes, as well as our other colonies, he has, in general, such means. Most of the prædial labourers, since emancipation, have been able to save small sums of money, sufficient to buy or build a cottage or cabin for themselves. The planter in Barbadoes, whose interest it is to attach labour to his estate—and it is no less the interest of the planter to do this elsewhere—allows his people to place their habitations on it, without charge, and usually accommodates them with a rood or two of ground, near or adjoining, which they hire of him, at the rate of from £4 to £5 per acre, per annum. This, indeed, we think an exorbitant rent for a landlord to demand, and it is one which yields him a large revenue, and the labourer submits to it, because he can do no better. In a very few cases, the labourers have been allowed to purchase, and we know of one instance in which as much as £200 per acre was given for land. The peasantry raise on their allotments provisions for their own consumption, or articles which they convert into money, and they not unfrequently keep a pig, a goat, or even a cow. Some of them, allured by the prevailing opinion that the cultivation of sugar, as the staple of the colony, must be more profitable than anything else, have begun to cultivate it on their own account. The canes, when ripe, are usually sold to the planter, or are manufactured by him into sugar, at a given price. We were assured, on the best authority, that one fifteenth of all the sugar of Barbadoes is raised by the labourers on their hired allotments, and sold for their benefit. The amount realised by the sale of this sugar, as well as the larger profits arising from the sale of other articles of produce, must therefore be added to the wages received by the emancipated people, in order to represent the sum total of their income. In reviewing these circumstances, we think, on the whole, that the physical condition of the Barbadian peasantry, though far from very prosperous, presents an immense gain as compared with the days of slavery, and is calculated to afford satisfaction to the friends of freedom.

The moral condition of the people, although it presents some encouraging features, especially when viewed in relation to the past, is not to be spoken of with equal complacency. A people who were slaves yesterday, who had little or no mental culture, to whom marriage was forbidden, and whose children were not their own, but regarded from birth as the chattels of another, cannot be expected at once to become moral and intellectual, or to abandon the evil practices in which they had been brought up and encouraged. The perilous evils arising out of slavery must necessarily continue to affect, for a long period, the community which has been subjected to its dire dominion. This truth is known and felt by the ministers of religion, and the friends of good order in our colonies, who find, in the circumstances of early depraved habits, a powerful obstacle to social improvement. In addition to the numerous parish churches in Barbadoes, there are many places of public worship belonging to missionary societies. The Moravians and Wesleyan Methodists have numerous converts, and some good schools. A large proportion of the common people attend on public worship, and a majority of their children frequent a Sabbath-school, but the day-schools are much neglected. Those parents who were once slaves, and who never knew the value of education themselves, manifest indifference to it for their offspring. From this cause, and from the want of qualified teachers to undertake the task of instruction, only a fraction of the colony are sent to a daily school—not more than four thousand, or one in thirty-two of the whole population. There remains, therefore, a wide blank for the friends of education to fill up; and until this important duty be attended to, continued complaints of untruth, larceny, and petty crime, the usual concomitants of an uneducated community, are likely to prevail. An excellent school for the poor has been established in the parish of St. John, by the President of Codrington College, which is supported, partly by weekly payments from the children, and partly from his own purse. The Moravians also excel in this department of enlightened benevolence. It is highly satisfactory to find, that in the public schools

of Barbadoes, pupils are generally admitted without distinction of colour; a circumstance which is, doubtless, owing principally to the abolition of slavery, and the influence of some distinguished individuals, among whom, the present Chief Justice should be especially named. It was also gratifying to ascertain, that a superior description of education to that which formerly existed in Barbadoes has been recently provided, by a grammar-school in connexion with Codrington College, to which coloured boys, as well as white, are admitted. Among the drawbacks to the improvement and propriety of the colony, we were sorry to observe the incitements to waste, immorality, and crime, held out by the numerous shops and stores, in town and country, in which ardent spirits are licensed to be sold; a circumstance that must exert a baneful influence on any community, and especially on one comparatively ignorant. Some Christian patriots, impressed with this conviction, have established a Temperance Society in Bridgetown, which has, amongst its members, persons of various religious opinions, and has already exercised some beneficial influence. The legal condition of the peasantry is not yet on a satisfactory basis, especially as regards the precarious tenure of houses and land, from either of which they can be ejected at a week's notice. A Landlord and Tenant Bill has recently been before the Legislature, but no clause granting a needful security to the tenant was suffered to pass. The planters continue to use the powers of summary ejection as a screw to extort labour. We append to these remarks the following extracts from a report of Sir W. Colebrook, inserted in the Colonial Blue Book, laid before Parliament this year, confirmatory of the views we have here taken. He says, "The condition of the yeomanry who cultivate the sugar cane with other produce, stimulates the ambition of the peasantry, who, since emancipation, are eager to establish their independence in the possession of land. If they could obtain leases of their holdings, it is probable that they would be content to occupy on this tenure, but as they are not encouraged to do so, they make great sacrifices to acquire the means of purchase. There being but little diversity of employment, the men and the women, with their children, when old enough, engage in field labour. Holding their allotments on so precarious a tenure, the wooden tenements which they inhabit exhibit no appearance of neatness and comfort; and the women who are thus engaged in external occupations have but little time for domestic employment, or to attend to their children who are too young to be taken out to work. These habits have also proved a discouragement to marriage; and, however to be commended for their industry, and in general for their peaceable conduct, the moral condition of the peasantry is unfavourably contrasted with that of Antigua. In that island, the early attention to education prepared the people for that complete emancipation which, in 1834, led to the establishment of free villages, and to those relations between employer and labourer which have proved alike conducive to the welfare of both. Some attempts, however, were made to improve the comforts of the peasantry, by the erection of substantial cottages on estates; but as these were not obtainable on a permanent tenure, the labourers have generally preferred to occupy their own fragile tenements, which they could carry with them, in removing from one plantation to another. This unsettled condition of the labourers may, in a material degree, also be traced to the baneful influence of the system of apprenticeship, which marred the salutary effects of emancipation, from 1834 to 1838, and from which the labourers in Antigua were happily exempted. "From the large population of Barbadoes, extra labour may, at certain seasons, be also obtained; but the demand of higher rent for their holdings, which is frequently demanded when the labourers work off the estate where they reside, gives to them an equitable claim for constant employment. The disposition to check the natural distribution of labour has thus been more or less unfavourable to the progress of industry and economical management in these islands, interfering, as it has, in some cases, with associations for the performance of task-work; and, in others, with some useful branches of general industry."

CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE PLANTERS.

From the period of emancipation to the passing of the Sugar Act, in 1846, the planters may be said to have been highly prosperous. Land was bought and sold at very high prices. Some persons, anxious to possess land, bought it at an artificial value, corresponding with the high price of sugar, and mortgaged it to the amount of the whole, or nearly the whole of the purchase-money. The interest charged on such mortgages was seldom less than six per cent. per annum, and the parties usually brought themselves under an

engagement to consign the produce to some mercantile house in Great Britain, subject to the customary charges on encumbered estates, for freight, and commission on sales. The Act of 1846, by suddenly depressing the nett price of sugar to little more than one half of its former amount, operated most disastrously on this class of owners, and plunged them into bankruptcy. Others suffered more or less from the same cause, and hence the cry of ruin to the planting interest became general. Such of the planters, however, as possessed unburdened estates, and had skill and energy, set on foot a more rigid economy in their management, in which they were greatly assisted by a large fall in the wages of labour, and have been able to resist the shock to which they were exposed. Some few plantations in Barbadoes, not favourably circumstanced, or badly conducted, are perhaps now cultivated at a loss, and only held as sugar properties in the hope of higher prices; but we are satisfied, from all we learned on the spot, that the great majority of the estates afford a remunerating profit, and that some of them pay extremely well. Land, which, under a system of monopoly in the British market, sold sometimes as high as £80 an acre, is now worth about as much, on an average, as good land in England; and, if economically managed, would yield a much larger sum, in the shape of rent, to the owner. The average price at which sugar is grown and made ready for the market, including all charges, but not including the interest of fixed capital, is probably about 12s. per cwt.; but we heard of estates on which it is produced at a much less cost; and were told of one proprietor, who, by skilful husbandry, raised sufficient provisions from his land, in one year, to leave his sugar crop, of more than 100 hogsheads, a net surplus, after paying all the expenses of working the estate. The plough, and other implements of husbandry, are increasingly used to lessen labour; and some of the planters are beginning to practise, at a great expense, the system of deep draining.

During our stay, we visited the prison, the lunatic asylum, and other public establishments. The prison is a temporary one, and is about to be superseded by another, better adapted to the views of the present age, in regard to classification and discipline. The lunatic asylum is a recent erection, in which nearly every patient is provided with a separate lodging-room. Great care is bestowed on this institution by the Governor and his benevolent lady, who are unremitting in their attention to this unfortunate class of the people, and who patronise, with much liberality and kindness, the various charitable institutions of the colony.

BRITISH GUIANA.

Leaving Barbadoes by the *Eagle* steamer, we arrived in four days at George Town, Demerara, on the mainland of South America. The rain fell so incessantly that we could not at once go on shore, but rested, for a night, in the vessel at anchor, in a still haven.

The colony of British Guiana consists of three counties, or provinces, named from the three great rivers that constitute its natural divisions. It was formerly a land of "mud and money," and now, at least, of mud and mosquitoes. This part of the coast of South America, for many leagues, is so low as to be seen at sea only at a very short distance from land. Our visit embraced a period of three weeks, during which time we were principally in the neighbourhood of George Town and New Amsterdam, the principal towns of Demerara and Berbice. We were not able to proceed to Essequibo. The sugar estates are generally situated on the sea-coast, or on the banks of rivers, and are secured from the invasion of spring tides by artificial dams, such as the people of Holland have raised to protect their little kingdom. The estates are all intersected by canals and trenches, after the Dutch manner. These serve at once for draining the land, and as roads for conveyance of produce. On our arrival, we waited on Governor Barkly, who received us with much kindness, and offered to do what he could to assist us in our inquiries. In addition to the general letter of introduction from Lord Grey, we presented one addressed to the Governor by the Bishop of Guiana. It was the winter rainy season, which we found an advantage to us, as the rain cooled the air, although, at the same time, it made the common roads and foot-paths muddy, and impeded locomotion. Our first perambulations in George Town, the capital of the colony, somewhat disheartened us. When the Coolies were imported into Demerara, there came over among them a large number of men unaccustomed to field labour, who, we were told, had obtained a livelihood in their own country as mendicants, and who were, in fact, the very refuse of Calcutta and Madras. Some of this class, and many others of weakly frames, we have reason to

believe, had died of destitution. Of the survivors, we witnessed not a few walking or lying about the streets, almost naked, and apparently wholly unfit for the severe labour to which they had been destined. In many instances, these poor creatures were either unprovided, or ill-provided with lodging or food, and frequently subsisted on carrion, seasoned with curry, or refuse vegetables, for want of better sustenance. We also observed Portuguese immigrants, sick and emaciated, and dependent chiefly on charity, wandering about in the purlieus of the town.

Barbadoes and British Guiana are, in some respects, the antipodes of each other. Scarcely could two colonies belonging to the same Crown, and yielding the same produce, be more unlike. Barbadoes, though not mountainous, presents an agreeable surface of hill and dale. The two portions of Guiana that we visited are almost one universal flat. In Barbadoes land is scarce, and the population is superabundant. In Guiana, there is no limit to the land fit for cultivation, and the people are few. Whilst Barbadoes might well spare twenty or thirty thousand workers from its living hive, Guiana proclaims to the world that it suffers from a want of hands. How far this alleged suffering has been and is occasioned by the planters themselves, it may be worth while to inquire. The same system which, when freedom was proclaimed, was commenced elsewhere, of destroying fruit trees and provision grounds, in order to reduce the labourer to dependence on plantation work, was adopted in Demerara. The plantain walks, on a large number of estates, were broken up by the managers. This wanton act of aggression was seen by the emancipated people in its true light; and to remedy the evil of scarce and dear food, which threatened them, as well as to avoid other apprehended acts of oppression, they resolved, if possible, to obtain land of their own. Few owners of the soil could be prevailed upon to sell small portions to the labourers, and their only means of obtaining it was by combining among themselves to purchase the whole of some large estates, that had been abandoned, or were then in the market for sale, and to divide them into allotments. This was effected; houses were built; and hence the origin of free villages or townships, by which the labour market has become partially disturbed. The last official returns, up to the end of 1848, show that the emancipated classes had purchased 446 freeholds, some of which are subdivided, on which they had erected 10,541 houses, and the number of persons occupying them amounted to 44,443; or, on an average, four persons to each house. The entire colonial population, at the end of 1848, consisted of males, 66,540; females, 55,975. Total, 122,515. Few of the small freeholders have sufficient land of their own to subsist exclusively upon its produce, and nearly all of them employ a portion of their time in field labour. There are, however, occasional periods, when the work required on the provision grounds of the peasant interferes with that wanted on estates, and thus it happens that continuous labour is not always to be had, as in the days of slavery. This has given occasion to the cry that the people are idle, which has been raised in almost every colony, and has been reiterated in England and America, until many persons are ready to believe that it is true. A sufficient answer to the charge may be found in the correspondence of our colonial governors with the Government at home, who generally speak in approving terms of the emancipated people, and in the fact of the large amount of produce exported from our colonies, which is now three-fourths as much as it was under slavery. Our imports from the British West India colonies, including British Guiana, stand thus:—Average of sugar imported into Great Britain, per annum, from the British West India colonies,

For the five years ending with 1834, the last		
year of slavery	3,855,646 cwts.
Ditto	ditto	1840..... 2,767,338 „

It is true that the exports of the various colonies, as compared with the period of slavery, differs considerably. Thus, as has been seen, in Barbadoes there is no decrease, but rather an increase. In British Guiana the decrease has been considerable. It ought, however, to be remembered that this colony and Jamaica were instanced by Lord Stanley, when he brought in the bill for the abolition of slavery, as presenting the anomalous and unsatisfactory fact of an increase of production simultaneously with a considerable decrease of the slave population. This murderous state of things, so far as regards the Creole labourers, is now happily terminated. Men, women, and children are no longer sent to the cane field and tasked beyond their strength, to supply the largest amount of sugar that avarice could extract. Mothers of infant

colonies prefer working extremely hard for a short time, and when their task is done, to sit down contentedly to their meals, and take rest. If not exhausted by toil, they sometimes devote a small remaining portion of the day to their own provision grounds. The first five working days of the week are usually devoted by the labourers to plantation employment for wages; the last working day, "Saturday," they claim for their own use, in cultivating their allotments, and to go to market. It must be quite evident that a labourer working only five days in the week, at an average of 9d. a day, will be unable, if he have no other means of subsistence, to live with comfort, and support a family. Happily for himself, in Barbadoes, as well as our other colonies, he has, in general, such means. Most of the prædial labourers, since emancipation, have been able to save small sums of money, sufficient to buy or build a cottage or cabin for themselves. The planter in Barbadoes, whose interest it is to attach labour to his estate—and it is no less the interest of the planter to do this elsewhere—allows his people to place their habitations on it, without charge, and usually accommodates them with a rood or two of ground, near or adjoining, which they hire of him, at the rate of from £4 to £5 per acre, per annum. This, indeed, we think an exorbitant rent for a landlord to demand, and it is one which yields him a large revenue, and the labourer submits to it, because he can do no better. In a very few cases, the labourers have been allowed to purchase, and we know of one instance in which as much as £200 per acre was given for land. The peasantry raise on their allotments provisions for their own consumption, or articles which they convert into money, and they not unfrequently keep a pig, a goat, or even a cow. Some of them, allured by the prevailing opinion that the cultivation of sugar, as the staple of the colony, must be more profitable than anything else, have begun to cultivate it on their own account. The canes, when ripe, are usually sold to the planter, or are manufactured by him into sugar, at a given price. We were assured, on the best authority, that one fifteenth of all the sugar of Barbadoes is raised by the labourers on their hired allotments, and sold for their benefit. The amount realised by the sale of this sugar, as well as the larger profits arising from the sale of other articles of produce, must therefore be added to the wages received by the emancipated people, in order to represent the sum total of their income. In reviewing these circumstances, we think, on the whole, that the physical condition of the Barbadian peasantry, though far from very prosperous, presents an immense gain as compared with the days of slavery, and is calculated to afford satisfaction to the friends of freedom.

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of Barbadoes, pupils are generally admitted without distinction of colour; a circumstance which is, doubtless, owing principally to the abolition of slavery, and the influence of some distinguished individuals, among whom, the present Chief Justice should be especially named. It was also gratifying to ascertain, that a superior description of education to that which formerly existed in Barbadoes has been recently provided, by a grammar-school in connexion with Codrington College, to which coloured boys, as well as white, are admitted. Among the drawbacks to the improvement and propriety of the colony, we were sorry to observe the incitements to waste, immorality, and crime, held out by the numerous shops and stores, in town and country, in which ardent spirits are licensed to be sold; a circumstance that must exert a baneful influence on any community, and especially on one comparatively ignorant. Some Christian patriots, impressed with this conviction, have established a Temperance Society in Bridgetown, which has, amongst its members, persons of various religious opinions, and has already exercised some beneficial influence. The legal condition of the peasantry is not yet on a satisfactory basis, especially as regards the precarious tenure of houses and land, from either of which they can be ejected at a week's notice. A Landlord and Tenant Bill has recently been before the Legislature, but no clause granting a needful security to the tenant was suffered to pass. The planters continue to use the powers of summary ejection as a screw to extort labour. We append to these remarks the following extracts from a report of Sir W. Colebrook, inserted in the Colonial Blue Book, laid before Parliament this year, confirmatory of the views we have here taken. He says, "The condition of the yeomanry who cultivate the sugar cane with other produce, stimulates the ambition of the peasantry, who, since emancipation, are eager to establish their independence in the possession of land. If they could obtain leases of their holdings, it is probable that they would be content to occupy on this tenure, but as they are not encouraged to do so, they make great sacrifices to acquire the means of purchase. There being but little diversity of employment, the men and the women, with their children, when old enough, engage in field labour. Holding their allotments on so precarious a tenure, the wooden tenements which they inhabit exhibit no appearance of neatness and comfort; and the women who are thus engaged in external occupations have but little time for domestic employment, or to attend to their children who are too young to be taken out to work. These habits have also proved a discouragement to marriage; and, however to be commended for their industry, and in general for their peaceable conduct, the moral condition of the peasantry is unfavourably contrasted with that of Antigua. In that island, the early attention to education prepared the people for that complete emancipation which, in 1834, led to the establishment of free villages, and to those relations between employer and labourer which have proved alike conducive to the welfare of both. Some attempts, however, were made to improve the comforts of the peasantry, by the erection of substantial cottages on estates; but as these were not obtainable on a permanent tenure, the labourers have generally preferred to occupy their own fragile tenements, which they could carry with them, in removing from one plantation to another. This unsettled condition of the labourers may, in a material degree, also be traced to the baneful influence of the system of apprenticeship, which marred the salutary effects of emancipation, from 1834 to 1838, and from which the labourers in Antigua were happily exempted. "From the large population of Barbadoes, extra labour may, at certain seasons, be also obtained; but the demand of higher rent for their holdings, which is frequently demanded when the labourers work off the estate where they reside, gives to them an equitable claim for constant employment. The disposition to check the natural distribution of labour has thus been more or less unfavourable to the progress of industry and economical management in these islands, interfering, as it has, in some cases, with associations for the performance of task-work; and, in others, with some useful branches of general industry."

CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE PLANTERS.

From the period of emancipation to the passing of the Sugar Act, in 1846, the planters may be said to have been highly prosperous. Land was bought and sold at very high prices. Some persons, anxious to possess land, bought it at an artificial value, corresponding with the high price of sugar, and mortgaged it to the amount of the whole, or nearly the whole of the purchase-money. The interest charged on such mortgages was seldom less than six per cent. per annum, and the parties usually brought themselves under an

engagement to consign the produce to some mercantile house in Great Britain, subject to the customary charges on encumbered estates, for freight, and commission on sales. The Act of 1846, by suddenly depressing the nett price of sugar to little more than one half of its former amount, operated most disastrously on this class of owners, and plunged them into bankruptcy. Others suffered more or less from the same cause, and hence the cry of ruin to the planting interest became general. Such of the planters, however, as possessed unburdened estates, and had skill and energy, set on foot a more rigid economy in their management, in which they were greatly assisted by a large fall in the wages of labour, and have been able to resist the shock to which they were exposed. Some few plantations in Barbadoes, not favourably circumstanced, or badly conducted, are perhaps now cultivated at a loss, and only held as sugar properties in the hope of higher prices; but we are satisfied, from all we learned on the spot, that the great majority of the estates afford a remunerating profit, and that some of them pay extremely well. Land, which, under a system of monopoly in the British market, sold sometimes as high as £80 an acre, is now worth about as much, on an average, as good land in England; and, if economically managed, would yield a much larger sum, in the shape of rent, to the owner. The average price at which sugar is grown and made ready for the market, including all charges, but not including the interest of fixed capital, is probably about 12s. per cwt.; but we heard of estates on which it is produced at a much less cost; and were told of one proprietor, who, by skilful husbandry, raised sufficient provisions from his land, in one year, to leave his sugar crop, of more than 100 hogsheads, a net surplus, after paying all the expenses of working the estate. The plough, and other implements of husbandry, are increasingly used to lessen labour; and some of the planters are beginning to practise, at a great expense, the system of deep draining.

During our stay, we visited the prison, the lunatic asylum, and other public establishments. The prison is a temporary one, and is about to be superseded by another, better adapted to the views of the present age, in regard to classification and discipline. The lunatic asylum is a recent erection, in which nearly every patient is provided with a separate lodging-room. Great care is bestowed on this institution by the Governor and his benevolent lady, who are unremitting in their attention to this unfortunate class of the people, and who patronise, with much liberality and kindness, the various charitable institutions of the colony.

BRITISH GUIANA.

Leaving Barbadoes by the *Eagle* steamer, we arrived in four days at George Town, Demerara, on the mainland of South America. The rain fell so incessantly that we could not at once go on shore, but rested, for a night, in the vessel at anchor, in a still haven.

The colony of British Guiana consists of three counties, or provinces, named from the three great rivers that constitute its natural divisions. It was formerly a land of "mud and money," and now, at least, of mud and mosquitoes. This part of the coast of South America, for many leagues, is so low as to be seen at sea only at a very short distance from land. Our visit embraced a period of three weeks, during which time we were principally in the neighbourhood of George Town and New Amsterdam, the principal towns of Demerara and Berbice. We were not able to proceed to Essequibo. The sugar estates are generally situated on the sea-coast, or on the banks of rivers, and are secured from the invasion of spring tides by artificial dams, such as the people of Holland have raised to protect their little kingdom. The estates are all intersected by canals and trenches, after the Dutch manner. These serve at once for draining the land, and as roads for conveyance of produce. On our arrival, we waited on Governor Barkly, who received us with much kindness, and offered to do what he could to assist us in our inquiries. In addition to the general letter of introduction from Lord Grey, we presented one addressed to the Governor by the Bishop of Guiana. It was the winter rainy season, which we found an advantage to us, as the rain cooled the air, although, at the same time, it made the common roads and foot-paths muddy, and impeded locomotion. Our first perambulations in George Town, the capital of the colony, somewhat disheartened us. When the Coolies were imported into Demerara, there came over among them a large number of men unaccustomed to field labour, who, we were told, had obtained a livelihood in their own country as mendicants, and who were, in fact, the very refuse of Calcutta and Madras. Some of this class, and many others of weakly frames, we have reason to

believe, had died of destitution. Of the survivors, we witnessed not a few walking or lying about the streets, almost naked, and apparently wholly unfit for the severe labour to which they had been destined. In many instances, these poor creatures were either unprovided, or ill-provided with lodging or food, and frequently subsisted on carrion, seasoned with curry, or refuse vegetables, for want of better sustenance. We also observed Portuguese immigrants, sick and emaciated, and dependent chiefly on charity, wandering about in the purlieus of the town.

Barbadoes and British Guiana are, in some respects, the antipodes of each other. Scarcely could two colonies belonging to the same Crown, and yielding the same produce, be more unlike. Barbadoes, though not mountainous, presents an agreeable surface of hill and dale. The two portions of Guiana that we visited are almost one universal flat. In Barbadoes land is scarce, and the population is superabundant. In Guiana, there is no limit to the land fit for cultivation, and the people are few. Whilst Barbadoes might well spare twenty or thirty thousand workers from its living hive, Guiana proclaims to the world that it suffers from a want of hands. How far this alleged suffering has been and is occasioned by the planters themselves, it may be worth while to inquire. The same system which, when freedom was proclaimed, was commenced elsewhere, of destroying fruit trees and provision grounds, in order to reduce the labourer to dependence on plantation work, was adopted in Demerara. The plantain walks, on a large number of estates, were broken up by the managers. This wanton act of aggression was seen by the emancipated people in its true light; and to remedy the evil of scarce and dear food, which threatened them, as well as to avoid other apprehended acts of oppression, they resolved, if possible, to obtain land of their own. Few owners of the soil could be prevailed upon to sell small portions to the labourers, and their only means of obtaining it was by combining among themselves to purchase the whole of some large estates, that had been abandoned, or were then in the market for sale, and to divide them into allotments. This was effected; houses were built; and hence the origin of free villages or townships, by which the labour market has become partially disturbed. The last official returns, up to the end of 1848, show that the emancipated classes had purchased 446 freeholds, some of which are subdivided, on which they had erected 10,541 houses, and the number of persons occupying them amounted to 44,443; or, on an average, four persons to each house. The entire colonial population, at the end of 1848, consisted of males, 66,540; females, 55,975. Total, 122,515. Few of the small freeholders have sufficient land of their own to subsist exclusively upon its produce, and nearly all of them employ a portion of their time in field labour. There are, however, occasional periods, when the work required on the provision grounds of the peasant interferes with that wanted on estates, and thus it happens that continuous labour is not always to be had, as in the days of slavery. This has given occasion to the cry that the people are idle, which has been raised in almost every colony, and has been reiterated in England and America, until many persons are ready to believe that it is true. A sufficient answer to the charge may be found in the correspondence of our colonial governors with the Government at home, who generally speak in approving terms of the emancipated people, and in the fact of the large amount of produce exported from our colonies, which is now three-fourths as much as it was under slavery. Our imports from the British West India colonies, including British Guiana, stand thus:—Average of sugar imported into Great Britain, per annum, from the British West India colonies,

For the five years ending with 1834, the last	
year of slavery	3,855,646 cwts.
Ditto ditto 1849.....	2,767,338 „

It is true that the exports of the various colonies, as compared with the period of slavery, differs considerably. Thus, as has been seen, in Barbadoes there is no decrease, but rather an increase. In British Guiana the decrease has been considerable. It ought, however, to be remembered that this colony and Jamaica were instanced by Lord Stanley, when he brought in the bill for the abolition of slavery, as presenting the anomalous and unsatisfactory fact of an increase of production simultaneously with a considerable decrease of the slave population. This murderous state of things, so far as regards the Creole labourers, is now happily terminated. Men, women, and children are no longer sent to the cane field and tasked beyond their strength, to supply the largest amount of sugar that avarice could extract. Mothers of infant

children, who were formerly compelled to work in gangs, under the lash of an overseer, have, in many instances, withdrawn from field labour, and not a few of the young people have been sent to school. We have noticed the manner in which many of the labourers in Guiana have been partially withdrawn from the cane field, and we shall yet have to notice other circumstances arising from the mistaken, or less excusable conduct, of the planters and legislators of Guiana, that have contributed to the same result. One thing, however, is certain—that the happiness of the people, arising from the change in their condition, is immense; that human life is no longer wasted as it used to be; and that the means of improvement of every kind are furnished to a much greater extent than during slavery. In this the friends of humanity do and will rejoice. It deserves also to be noticed, that much of the food once imported from abroad is now raised in the colonies; and, in addition to this, the labourers have themselves become consumers, to a large extent, of the luxuries which, as slaves, they only assisted in producing. We entertain no doubt that they would work more for wages, and less on their own grounds for themselves, if their inducements to do so were as great as they ought to be. The tendency of Guiana legislation has been, and still is, to drive the emancipated people from the estates, and to compel them to cultivate land on their own account. The colony, contrary, as we think, to all sound policy, and to modern sentiments on free-trade, has imposed very high duties on articles of consumption imported from abroad, as will be seen from the following table, carefully compiled by a merchant of George Town, and which also shows the comparative taxation on the necessary articles of subsistence in this and some other colonies:—

British Guiana	27½ per cent.
Antigua	21½ „
Trinidad	18½ „
Grenada	17½ „
St. Vincent.. .. .	15 „
Barbadoes	11½ „

In proportion to the dearness of food imported from abroad, is it the interest of the labourers to raise it at home, and we have seen that this is accordingly done. Not only does the colony, by injudicious taxation and the application of native labour in the production of food, lessen the amount of exports, but discourages and alienates the best class of its labourers still further by the continued introduction of immigrants.

On the subject of immigration we must dwell at some length, as it is an important feature in the doings of this colony, and one in which we think great mistakes have been made, whether we regard the consequences to the immigrants, or the effect of their introduction on the general welfare of the colony. From a return laid before Parliament, it appears that, from 1834 to 1848, there had been imported into Guiana, of Coolies, Africans, and Portuguese, the large number of 46,514, chiefly adult males. The last-named circumstance we regard as utterly indefensible in a moral point of view. The direct cost of introducing this large addition to the population is reported to Parliament to be £360,685. But this is only a portion of the pecuniary burden inflicted. There must be added the expense of erecting and supporting hospitals, the maintenance of vagrants, the pay of an enlarged police, and the support of extended prisons. If the expenses thus incurred be taken into account, the total charge of immigration cannot be less than £400,000, and we believe it to be much greater. What has hitherto been the result of this vast apparatus of means and money let the following statistics show. The immigrants who remained in the colony at the end of 1848 were, of Africans, 5739; of Portuguese, 5083; of Coolies, 8,300; total, 19,122. Not less than 25,000, or more than one half of all who had arrived during the previous fifteen years, had disappeared or perished. Some of the Portuguese immigrants, dissatisfied with their mode of life, or unable to endure the toil or the climate, had returned to the Azores and Madeira, but by far the larger part of these miserable exiles had died in or out of the hospitals, from the effects of disease or destitution. Out of 19,122 who remained alive in the colony, as above stated, only 12,872 were actually occupied as prædial labourers; some had employment in other ways, and many were wandering about in town or country. It appears that each Indian immigrant field labourer has already cost at the rate of £30 per head, and this sum will be largely increased by the cost, yet to be incurred, of sending back to their native country those who may survive the term of their contracts. Not only has the colony of British Guiana sub-

jected itself to a heavy debt by a process, the tendency of which is to supersede Creole or native labour, thus entailing an intolerable burden on the community, for many years to come; but the planters, for whose presumed advantage the undertaking was commenced, are compelled, from the inadequate physical powers of the immigrants, to pay them in reality higher wages for work performed than they give to the native peasantry. The system cannot, we think, be persevered in without ruin to the colony; and if it can, the question properly arises, ought it to be permitted? England is not yet, we should hope, so famished for want of sugar as to obtain it by heaping debt on its colonies, and destroying the lives of immigrants by labours to which they are unequal. The public hospitals in Demerara and Berbice, especially the former, have been erected at a great expense, and are highly creditable to the colony, both as regards their accommodation and management; but no hospital, however good, nor any management, however humane, can be expected to overcome the tendency to disease in men unfitted by their previous habits, and still more by their physical constitution, for the toil of the cane fields in the humid climate of Guiana. In the years 1847 and 1848, the last two years in which immigration was carried on to any considerable extent, after time had been given for the selection from abroad of healthy and able-bodied labourers, and the best mode of treatment had become well known to the medical officers of the colony, the mortality was still very great. There died, in these two years, of Africans, 369; of Portuguese, 1749; and of Coolies, 1160; or an average of 1639 for each year, out of a population of immigrants of less than 24,000,—a rate of mortality which, if it were to become general, would, in a few years, depopulate the globe. We may add, in concluding this portion of our subject, that on several estates that we visited, the huts provided for the immigrant, or other labourers, were far from satisfactory. This was especially the case on an estate belonging to one of the most influential resident proprietors, and which is let to a person in the colony. Close to the entrance of this estate, and opposite to the residence of the lessee, is a shop, in which ardent spirits, with other articles, are exposed for sale. The road to the labourers' cottages was almost unpassable, and their dwellings exhibited an utter want of comfort and neatness. We have much reason to fear that the well-being of the labourer is but little regarded by the administrators of many estates in Guiana.

The nominal wages of labour are a guilder, or 16½d., sterling a day; but in crop time, it is said, an able-bodied man may earn half-a-dollar, or 2s. 1d. Work, however, is not always to be obtained, or paid for when performed. Numerous were the complaints made to us of the inability of the labourers, at certain seasons of the year, to find all the employment they desired; and had they not provision grounds of their own to subsist on, they would sometimes be brought to destitution.

The condition of the Creole labourers, who are located in free villages, is, with some exceptions, superior to those of the same class on estates; but they are less prosperous than they are often represented to be, partly in consequence of the heavy taxation which presses on them, and partly from the circumstance, that in many instances the whole of the purchase money for the land, on which their villages are built, has not been paid. The title deeds, in such cases, are still in the hands of the original owners, as mortgagees, and no title or transport can be obtained to the separate holdings. Some of these settlements are already complicated with law difficulties, and will require a special act of the Colonial Legislature to set them free. The houses which the peasantry have built for themselves are in general pretty good, consisting of two or three rooms on a ground floor; and in some instances they are of a superior character, and well furnished. Many of the free villages are deficient in drainage; and in some of them we regretted to find ill-constructed and over-crowded dwellings, which must prove injurious to health, and no less unfriendly to morals and elevation of character.

There are thirty-three episcopal churches and chapels, at which there is an attendance of rather more than ten thousand persons, and fifty-four other places of public worship, which are attended by double that number. Within the last two or three years, the children in day schools had decreased from 7157 to 5807, and in the Sabbath schools in a slighter degree. This decrease is to be attributed to the diminished wages of the peasantry and their oppressive taxation. The ministers of the English, Romish, Presbyterian, and Dutch reform churches are paid by salaries out of the colonial chest. The missionaries sent out by different religious societies in Great Britain derive their support wholly or in part from their respective

congregations. It is to the missionaries, chiefly, that the black and coloured people resort for religious instruction. We were highly gratified in visiting some of the Sabbath schools connected with missionary chapels, which are attended not only by children but adults, and we cannot doubt that they exert a highly beneficial influence. The day schools also, although the attendance for the present is less than it has been, present a bright aspect, when compared with the utter ignorance of letters to which, during the period of slavery, the children of the peasantry were condemned.

A few years since, when wages were higher, the labourers contributed largely to the erection of chapels and school houses, and they were then ready to pay for the education of their children. They now want the profit of their children's labour, and are less willing and less able to send them to school. This is a powerful hindrance to improvement, nor is this all we have to regret. Spirit stores are licensed for the sake of the revenue, and rum is largely consumed. The effect, on the character of the Creole peasantry, by the late large introduction of immigrants is also deeply to be deplored. How can a community, who were a few years since subjected to slavery, the most degrading of all institutions, be expected to advance rapidly in civilisation and morals, when ignorant and superstitious Africans, taken from the holds of slave ships, and idolatrous and sensual Hindoos, are poured in amongst them to mix with their families and influence their youth? "Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles."

The following extract from an official report laid before Parliament may be taken as a fair description of the emancipated people in the colony:—

"On the general condition of the labouring population of the district, little can be added to my former report; commonly they are quiet, peaceable, and industrious. Crime of a serious nature is not on the increase among them; there is no squatting. As in most other parts of the colony, there exists an indisposition among parents to educate their children, arising from their ignorance of the benefits of instruction, and consequent unwillingness to pay for a future advantage of which they themselves cannot partake."—*Par. Pap. No. 297. 1849. Appendix.*

In reference to the public establishments of Guiana, we have already spoken favourably of the hospital in Demerara and Berbice. A very different statement must be made respecting an asylum for the insane, close to the hospital in George Town, and which is the most wretched, in every respect, that we have ever seen, and wholly unfit to be tenanted by any human being. Neither can a good report be given of the prison at George Town, which requires to be much improved. A poor house near the town is still more in need of improvement, and is a wretched receptacle for nearly two hundred inmates, about one half of whom, at the period of our visit, were Coolies, and not a few of these nearly in a state of nudity. How strikingly does the niggardliness evidenced in some of these establishments contrast with the enormous sums devoted to immigration. We did not visit the penal settlement at Essequibo, and cannot, therefore, form any judgment of its condition; but if the state of the public establishments of a country be some criterion of the character of the people and government,—and we believe it to be such,—large reforms are urgently needful in British Guiana.

The laws most complained of in this colony are those which relate to licenses and contracts for labour. The former affect all classes of the community; the latter, the immigrant labourers in particular. The system of licensing is not only extremely onerous in the charge imposed for licenses, and the heavy penalties it inflicts, but it impedes every class of industry, with the exception of agricultural labour, and seriously restricts the right of locomotion. No person can expose bread or any article of food for sale, without a shop license, for which he has to pay twenty dollars per annum, or sell them in town or country without a huckster's license, which costs ten dollars for the town, and another ten dollars for the country districts. The labourer, who needs a corial, or boat, to move up and down the rivers and creeks, the great highways of the colony, must pay sums varying from two to four dollars per annum, for exercising that right. This is most oppressive, and whatever may be thought of it by the planters, such legislative enactments tend to destroy all confidence between the labourer and his employer, and should be discountenanced by the Home Government.

The latter class of laws more particularly affect the immigrant labourers. These people, brought into the colony either at the expense of the Imperial Treasury, as in the case of liberated Africans, or at the expense of the Colonial Treasury, as in the case

of the Coolies and Portuguese, are subject to compulsory contracts to labour on plantations *exclusively*, for a period of years, without distinction of sex or age, above mere childhood. Should they attempt during this period—technically called "industrial residence," but really a state of semi-slavery—to better their condition by accepting engagements off the estates, they are then subjected to a special monthly tax, varying from one dollar to a dollar and a half, according to circumstances, payable *in advance*, for the enjoyment of that right. Among the stringent regulations of the law, and which remind us of the olden time of slavery, is the one which renders any immigrant labourer liable to be taken up, if found beyond two miles of the estate to which he is indentured, without a pass. Apart from its truly servile character, we need scarcely say, that such a regulation must interfere with many necessary and laudable acts, and places the labourer completely within the power of the master. Another point is worthy of notice:—All the laws affecting the labourers are enforced by heavy fines and imprisonment, with hard labour in the penal-gang. This is the substitute for the cart-whip. Thus, a labourer selling a loaf of bread without a license, or moving from one side of a river or creek to another, in his corial, without a license, and not having wherewithal to pay the fines and expenses inflicted upon him, is classed with felons, and worked with them in the penal-gang, in the gaol-dress. An immigrant failing to fulfil the terms of his compulsory contract, is subjected to the same degrading discipline. The evils of slavery are thus perpetuated, with the additional bitter ingredient, of the contamination contracted by offenders of this class being associated in punishment with criminals. These things ought not so to be.

We present a slight sketch of the progress of taxation in British Guiana. The amount of taxes imposed upon the people of that colony, in 1836, was 392,325 dollars; and at the commencement of the immigration project, in 1840, 700,918 dollars; in 1841, 1,145,870 dollars; and in 1842, 1,103,102 dollars. During the next five years, ending with 1846, the amount levied was, on the average, 845,272 dollars per annum. In 1847 it was 1,135,507 dollars, and in 1848, 1,083,981 dollars. Besides this heavy taxation, which must be most injuriously felt in an impoverished community, the colony has been loaded with a debt which will hang upon it for years to come, and which it is now proposed to increase to the extent of £400,000, for the importation of 10,000 additional Coolies and to complete the Demerara railway,—the latter a private undertaking, but in which the public have an interest. On the application of the funds or credit of the colony to immigration purposes, we shall only add to the remarks already made, that we deem it an act of gross injustice to the Creole labourers in the colony, and opposed to all humane principles, and to sound policy.

CONDITION OF THE PLANTERS.

The colony of Guiana is much depressed, from various causes; but this is not universally the case. We are glad to know that there have been and are instances of persons who manage their estates with skill and energy, and who, if we may credit the statements made to us, derive from them solid advantage, and, in some instances, large profits. In this, as indeed in all our colonies, estates had a great and extravagant value during the long period of protection. That this value, oftentimes more nominal than real, has been materially reduced, by the almost sudden breaking down of that system, ought to excite no surprise, especially in relation to a country where the agricultural population is now small, compared with the extent of land formerly cultivated, and, therefore, insufficient to keep up that cultivation without the adoption of a system of brutal coercion, or the introduction of foreign labourers, upon such a plan as should preserve that which previously existed. We have seen that the whole course of policy in Guiana has unfortunately been to discourage native labour on plantations, by unfair competition, and by an artificial value given to food imported from abroad. So long as this practice continues, we cannot anticipate that such an amount of labour will be procured as is needful to give land its proper value. The Creole will naturally withdraw from the plantations, and the foreign labourer will not resort to them, when he understands the nature of the laws under which he is to be placed.

In our opinion, the chief wants of Guiana, in order to render it a flourishing and prosperous colony, are, a larger amount of capital; a more thorough drainage of estates, happily commenced by a few wealthy planters; an improvement of the public roads, some of

which are now execrable; an energetic resident proprietary; a reform in various public establishments, and in the laws; a great reduction of taxation; and, above all, a fair, kindly, and considerate treatment of the labourers, remembering that property has its duties no less than its rights.

TRINIDAD.

The Government steamer by which we left Demerara takes an indirect course to Trinidad, by way of Tobago, a beautiful island, where it remains but a few hours. We did not land, and therefore had no opportunity of obtaining information respecting this colony on the spot; but some gentlemen, residents there, who were our fellow passengers, assured us that its agriculture was much depressed, and the growth of sugar almost profitless, except in a very few instances. Some of the causes that disturb the prosperity of the other colonies, have doubtless disturbed it here. The passage through the Bocas, or mouths, which divide Trinidad from the Spanish main, affords very interesting scenery. The limestone rocks of the small islands covered with vegetation, the houses and plantations on the coast, the cocoa-nut and palm trees, and families of pelicans, young and old, fishing in the clear blue water, gave us delight; and, added to these tropical objects of interest, we had in view the lofty mountains of Venezuela to the west. On our arrival at Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad, we waited early on Lord Harris, the Governor, from whom we received no less courtesy than from other governors. Port of Spain is the handsomest town in the British West Indies; the streets are well arranged, the houses are, many of them, ornamented with gardens and shaded by trees in rich blossom. Its quay is spacious and good, and its new buildings, recently erected, or in the course of erection, give it an air of advancing prosperity and wealth. Its situation also, at the foot of fine hills, and fronting a noble bay, adds much to its picturesque beauty. San Fernando, distant about thirty miles from Port of Spain, in the important sugar district of Naparima, is also a flourishing and increasing town. Trinidad altogether is a lovely island. In fertility, it exceeds nearly every other British colony, and is not inferior to the most productive belonging to foreign countries. Its present population is 70,000, of which, by far the larger part are Roman Catholics. The languages spoken are Spanish, French, and English; the merchants converse in all three, as well as in a singular compound *patois* in use among the common people.

The public schools supported by the Town Council of Port of Spain, with those belonging to the church of England and the missionaries, are sufficient for all the poor children of the city. In country places, but little provision is made for education, nor is it much sought after. Not more than 2000 young people are receiving daily instruction in the whole island. The Chief Justice and the Attorney General had succeeded in carrying through the Council certain resolutions, as the basis of a system of public instruction, and an ordinance founded on them has been sent to England, for the sanction or revision of the Home Government. Lord Harris is an earnest friend of education; he holds a yearly examination of candidates for prizes, from all the existing schools in the capital, and contributes liberally to the fund for rewards out of his own private purse.

There has been, in Trinidad, a large immigration of Coolies and Portuguese, and the system, manifestly an injurious and pernicious one, has induced the same lamentable results as in British Guiana—wretchedness and death to the immigrant, and debt to the colony. The introduction of these immigrants attaches great responsibility and guilt to the mother country that has permitted it, and to the parties in the colony by whom it has been promoted. The lazaret-house for the sick and the ulcerated is benevolently designed and well administered, but the inmates look very wretched. Some of these poor creatures, as soon as they get well enough, steal their blanket and hospital clothing, and go out to live again by begging, or subsist on such wretched and unwholesome food as they pick up in the roads and streets. Some of the Coolies, who have become acclimated and attach themselves to plantation work, are said to be useful labourers. They are generally provident, and succeed in making money; but their moral influence, as in other countries, is not favourable to the growth of religion and virtue in the Creoles. When habited in their native costume and holiday attire, they look refined and handsome; their salaam, or salutation, is peculiarly graceful. The Portuguese who survive the seasoning are much respected, and make good work-people on cocoa estates, where the toil and exposure to heat are less than on the sugar

plantations. The liberated Africans brought from Sierra Leone and St. Helena readily amalgamate with those of their own race. When landed they are apportioned to the planters, and articulated for one year as fixed labourers. They reside mostly in the cabins formerly occupied by slaves, and seem to be content with a very low state of animal existence. We looked in upon many of them in the different colonies, and thought their situation to be a pitiable one, and their morals grievously neglected. Nevertheless, the change from captivity to their present condition is to them an immense gain, and seems to reconcile them to the loss of their native land. The Creole labouring population born in Trinidad appear to be generally industrious. Some few are said to have become squatters on the Crown lands, and to live without paying rent, but we were not able, during our stay, to verify the fact. The number of such persons, if there be any, must be very small. Many of the common people, in this colony, have bought small portions of land, on which they have erected neat thatched dwellings, where they reside. In such cases they dispose of their labour where they please; usually to some plantation near at hand. Many continue to reside on the estates, in houses provided by the owners. The average wages for first-class labourers is fifteen pence a day. A day's task of weeding, under slavery, was sixty square feet, and other work in proportion; it is now, under freedom, eighty square feet, and is often performed in six consecutive hours. A great difference of opinion exists in Trinidad as to the supply of manual labour. Some planters, both near the capital, and in the fruitful district of Naparima, assured us that they never wanted labourers, except, perhaps, for a few days in the busiest time of crop. Others, on the contrary, bitterly complained that the Creoles were idle, and that a further immigration of labourers from abroad was needful to save the island from ruin. We entertain the opinion, from all we could gather on the spot, that this cry for additional labourers proceeds more from a desire to depress still farther the rate of wages, than to increase the amount of effective labour in the colony. There is already as much labour at command as there is capital to employ it, and more. To increase the number of labourers, without increasing capital, is a suicidal policy, and must lead to misery, either to the planters, to the labourers, or to the community, or possibly to all these parties.

The physical condition of the emancipated people is not to be complained of, nor does it admit of boast. Wages, the price of provisions considered, are not high. The people manage to live, and are tolerably contented. Their moral condition is yet a low one. Marriages are more numerous than in some other islands, but still the marriage-tie is too seldom formed; and, when formed, is, we fear, too little regarded. Much licentiousness prevails in the capital, both among the white and coloured inhabitants. Whilst the great majority of the young are left totally uninstructed, it is not to be wondered at that larceny and petty crime should abound. The prison of Port of Spain contained, at the period of our visit, 6 women and 134 men. Its general appearance and management were highly creditable to the authorities. The men are employed at stone-breaking, and their earnings are nearly sufficient to meet the entire expenses of the establishment. We much regret that missionaries of the different denominations have hitherto obtained so slender a footing among the people of this island, as we find that, wherever they get firmly fixed, schools, civilisation, and improved morals follow.

LAWS.

The laws of Trinidad, like those of Guiana, are most oppressive to the immigrant labourers. Under the pretence of promoting their industry, of caring for their health, and of advancing their moral and religious instruction, regulations have been imposed which take from the immigrants of both sexes the right to select their employer; which bind them for a period of five years, and even for a longer period, to labour exclusively on estates; which, practically, deprive them of any voice in the adjustment of their wages; which make them dependent for supplies on the truck system; which confine them strictly within the districts to which they may be allotted, and, in many other ways, interfere with their personal liberty, the rights of labour, and the formation of a useful class in the community. The existing labour laws are essentially of a servile character; and, unless greatly modified, will produce the usual results,—a degraded peasantry, and much cruelty and oppression.

We cannot specify all the legislation which has been directed against the labouring class in Trinidad; but it has been sought, by all sorts of devices, to confine them to the estates, and to deprive them of the privilege of settling, as independent freeholders, on land of

their own. One of the latest enactments of the Legislative Council, against the holders of small lots of land,—for against them it is principally directed,—is the “Territorial Ordinance,” as it is termed, which places a tax on their holdings. This tax large numbers of them are unable to pay, and the consequence has been, that their small properties have been seized and advertised for sale, by the local Government, in order to satisfy the impost and the expenses connected with the same. Such impolitic measures as these go far to deprive the colony of a useful body of labourers, who cultivate provisions for the general market, to alienate the people from those above them, and to create the suspicion in their minds that the Home, no less than the Colonial Government, by giving its sanction to such laws, is unfavourable to their progress, and intends to curtail their liberty.

THE PLANTERS.

The staple productions of the island are sugar and cocoa. One-third of the land under cultivation is devoted to the growth of cocoa, and two-thirds of it to sugar. The cocoa plantations are extending, and are cultivated with increased care. The growth of this article for the English market, and its manufacture into chocolate for the markets of Spain, afford ample remuneration for the capital employed, and the occupation is an agreeable one. Cocoa trees are planted here in rows, with avenues between them, and are shaded from the sun by other trees, called by the Spaniards “La madre cacao,” and by the French “Le bois immortel,” which run up with a naked stem to a great height, and cover the groves with a dense mass of green leaves. In the flowering season their heads are covered with bunches of rich blossoms of mingled orange and crimson. A cocoa plantation is a comparative solitude; the gathering of the fruit is conducted with little noise; very different from the clatter and clamour of a sugar-mill, where obstinate mules are kicking, and the voices of fifty men and women are all in activity together. The cocoa planters are chiefly the descendants of Spaniards and Frenchmen, and inhabit a very lovely district of country, east of Port of Spain, called, with its town, St. Joseph, and is flanked by well wooded hills, full of luxuriant vegetation, and affording charming prospects. It deserves remark, that the small town of St. Joseph was formerly the capital of the island.

The sugar planters have lately suffered severe losses, and several had recently failed. Panic prevails—capital is inadequately supplied—and land is almost unsaleable. Estates may be bought, in fee simple, for as little money as in former prosperous times, when sugar was at a monopoly price, they yielded annually in rent and profit. The cause of this depression is much the same as in other colonies, and has been greatly aggravated by the recent introduction of slave-grown sugars into the home market. It is unfair to depress our planters by an unrighteous competition with men-stealers. Heavy mortgages are a burden, which, under present circumstances, very few of the planters are able to bear. They can only do so when their estates are very favourably circumstanced in being near a place of shipment, the machinery worked by water, the land fertile, and the owners possessed of sufficient capital to keep them well cultivated. The assignees of a bankrupt commercial firm in Glasgow have consented to compound with several holders of estates on which they held mortgages, and to accept a third of the amount in full discharge of their claims,—a condition which could not in all instances be complied with. When such a change is effected in the tenure of property as the present crisis evidently calls for, we may hope that the colony will revive and again prosper; but the struggle will be a hard one to many. It is, however, possible to be too much discouraged. Many who cultivate the soil have not lost all confidence in its resources, nor are their exertions paralysed, as the sugar crop of 1849 was the largest that has been gathered for twenty years; and that of cocoa the largest ever known. One case, illustrative of what may be done by skill and perseverance, deserves an especial notice. We paid a visit to a sugar estate near the capital, belonging to a black proprietor, who was born a slave, but who was treated as one of his master's family, and received a good education. At the death of this master, and his immediate heir, the estate, largely burdened at the time with debt, fell into his hands by bequest. When it became his property, it made only 100 hogsheads of sugar per annum; he has gone on improving it, till it now makes 600 hogsheads, and we have good reason to believe that it yields a large profit. As the property increased in value under his hands, he borrowed more and more money upon it, till the mortgage amounted to £16,000. This sum was paid off during the panic. The proprietor succeeded in borrowing the money of another mort-

gagee, at the usual rate of interest, with a stipulation to liquidate the whole debt, principal and interest, in the course of five years. We asked the former mortgager whether he thought the agreement would be fulfilled; he said in reply, “I think it will;” and on our expressing surprise that so large a sum could be obtained in Trinidad, under a state of things represented to us as so calamitous, he observed that “the money was not lent to the estate, but to the man.” Here is a son of Africa, who manages his affairs with so much skill and discretion, as not only to be able to borrow a large sum of money in times of difficulty, but even to extort the commendation of his brother planters. There are other estates belonging to opulent absentees in the same vicinity, possessing similar natural advantages, but which we found in a very opposite condition. So rich is the soil of Trinidad, yielding, on some estates, two tons of sugar to the acre, and so admirably adapted is it to the growth of cocoa and of spices, as well as provisions, that we cannot but regard it as one of the fairest gems of the English Crown in the British West Indies, and as requiring only a wise people and good government to render it one of its most prosperous of its dependencies. We think that the community, including all classes and interests, should have a larger share of self-government, both in this colony and in British Guiana. If this were done, we cannot imagine that money and life would continue to be surrendered for the supposed benefit of a small portion of the population, and we should have more hope with regard to other needful reforms, including the proper elevation of the coloured and labouring classes.

(To be continued.)

THE TREATMENT OF LIBERATED AFRICANS IN TRINIDAD.

We have had occasion, several times, to call the attention of our readers to the shameful treatment of the liberated Africans who have been sent to the British colonies as immigrant labourers; and have now to add another illustration, furnished by recent proceedings in Trinidad. It appears that the Rev. Thos. Gilbert, Rector of St. Paul's, in that island, addressed a letter to Lord Harris, the Governor, on the 3rd of June, 1850, from which we make the following extract, which describes the wretched condition of these unfortunate people in that colony. Mr. Gilbert says:—

“This class of persons are, for the most part, in a most neglected condition. It is almost literally true that no man careth for their souls. They are brought here friendless, and unable to befriend themselves or each other. In some cases, the nearest relations are separated, without any knowledge whatever of each other's abode or destination. This is one of the worst features of the old system of slavery. By far the greater number of them were landed here in a very unhealthy state, and apparently half-starved to death. The consequence has been, that numbers have died, and, in some cases, on the highway, before reaching their destination; while many more have been rendered useless to themselves or their employers for months after their first location. In many instances, they are crowded together in a single room, for some time after their arrival, not larger than a labourer's house, without the slightest attention being paid to their comfort or cleanliness; and what is still worse, without any regard to the decencies of common life. I have seen them domiciled without any distinction of sex or condition, the sick and the whole all bundled together. It is not enough to satisfy ourselves with saying, that they have not been accustomed to anything better heretofore. Then they were heathens in a heathen land. But now, whether heathens or baptised, they have been transplanted to a Christian country, and should be treated with Christian kindness and sympathy; otherwise, in what respect do we appear to be better than themselves?”

“They are very uncleanly; but whether this be habitual, or only the consequence of being broken-spirited from the brutal treatment they have met with from their captors, or both, I am not prepared to say; but am inclined to think it attributable, if not wholly, yet in great part, to the latter of these causes. Particular attention ought, therefore, to be paid to their regular and periodical ablutions, both of themselves and of the rags which, for the most part, are but sufficient to cover their nakedness. But this is neglected to an extent which is truly shocking to decency, and must tend most materially to impede their recovery to health and strength. I know instances, where, after six months' residence, they have been still found with the same articles of dress, and none other than those, in which they were covered when apportioned to their several employers. Were the least interest taken in these poor rescued fellow-men, by those under whose care they are placed, and for whose more immediate benefit they were particularly introduced, nothing could be easier than to avoid this just cause of disgrace and complaint.

“Another evil, which should at once be put a stop to, is the habit, which is not uncommon, of occupying the Africans on Sundays. I have seen them, when others from different directions have been assembling in

the house of prayer, gathering cane tops in the field, in the same dirty and ill-clad condition in which they appear through the week. If there were no other evil attendant upon such a practice, it has this, that they who most require the civilising influences of our holy faith, are thus deprived of them, and left to wander on in ignorance of God and heedlessness of themselves. A little thought and management on the Saturday would obviate this unseemly irregularity on the Sabbath. The case I allude to was a very gross one; they were all children, and on the previous Sunday had been brought to receive holy baptism. I should be grieved to think that this was not an exception. I hope it is, but I know it is not the only exception.

"Then, concerning the education of these poor strangers who are being introduced among us. Years have passed since their arrival, and nothing has been done, or rather nothing specific, to meet their particular case. It will not do to leave it to themselves, to permit them to choose whether they will be taught, or continue in ignorance; whether they will be Christians or heathens."

The letter from which the foregoing extract is made was forwarded to Lord GREY; and on the 16th of September, 1850, the Island Secretary wrote Mr. Gilbert, that "In taking notice of the receipt of the copy of your letter, dated the 3rd of June last, Lord GREY expresses himself as being impressed with the idea that there must have been some negligence in the officers especially appointed to inspect and superintend the Africans;" and requested to know whether Mr. G. was prepared with specific evidence to support the statements contained in his letter, respecting the ill-treatment of the captured Africans. In reply, the rev. gentleman said, that he was prepared with evidence to substantiate all that he had written. Thereupon, Mr. Stipendiary Magistrate WARNER was appointed to conduct the inquiry; and, looking at the mode in which he performed the duty, to say nothing of his family connexions in Trinidad, we can conceive of few persons more unfit for its discharge. In a matter of such grave importance, it was, above all things, necessary that a perfectly competent individual should have been entrusted with the investigation, and that every facility should have been given Mr. Gilbert to prove his case; but such was not done. Mr. Gilbert asked for certain official papers, which he deemed necessary to the inquiry; but these were refused by Lord Harris, on the plea that "It does not appear clearly how any papers in this office can have any bearing upon circumstances stated to have taken place, (chiefly in Naparima it is supposed,) and which are, or are not, matters of fact." Against this withholding of the documents required, Mr. Gilbert entered a formal protest, in which, after reciting the facts of the case, in which he says, that "having applied through the stipendiary magistrate to the Governor, for authority 'to call for all official papers in possession of the Government, relating to the treatment and condition of the African emigrants,' as necessary to complete the proofs offered by him, and having been refused, he hereby protests against any inference that might be drawn from the incompleteness of the evidence offered by him in corroboration of the matters of inquiry." Mr. G. then requested that the witnesses he might require should be duly summoned to appear, but this was also refused him. In face of these difficulties, however, the rev. gentleman entered upon the examination, when the following evidence, which we abridge, was produced.

"Kami or Samla, aged about ten or twelve years, produced by the Rev. Mr. Gilbert as a witness, says—

"My name is Jane Gilbert,—I came over salt water. I do not know the time I came, nor the ship in which I came. My nennen (god-mother) and mistress is the same as Eliza Brandford's mistress. My own sister came over in the ship with me. She is older than myself. I do not know the name of the estate, or the master to whom I was first given. When sissy and I came here, we went together to the estate. I left my sissy there. I do not know why I was moved. I went where I was taken."

This witness was corroborated by Eliza Brandford and Mr. Gilbert. The planter, Mr. GRAY, to whom this African was allotted, deposed that he transferred her to Mr. Gilbert, but did not know she had a sister on his estate; and added, "Ten individuals, some male and some female, were apportioned to me. I did not receive with them either authorization, list, or description from the Government."

Another witness, Mr. P. Campbell, proprietor of Mount Stuart estate, deposed, that with the Africans allotted to him he received with them neither "list, description, nor authorization from the Government;" and added, "I do not consider that, in case of the death of an apportioned immigrant, it is the duty of the person to whom he or she is apportioned, to notify such death to the Agent-

General of immigrants, or to any other officer under Government, except to the registrar. And in the notification to the registrar, I do not conceive it to be the duty of the person who received the immigrant, to state that the deceased was an apportioned immigrant." This witness produced an African named Eliza, who deposed that Kami or Samba was her sister. The two African girls mutually recognised each other.

Another African, John Thomas, from the Yallaba country, deposed that he had been separated from his wife, "on the apportionment on board ship." He said, "I told the captain that a girl who was being separated from me was my wife; the captain told me not to be afraid, that I should get her again. I was sent to the Corinth estate—I did not find my wife there—I found her at the Jordan Hill; she wished to come with me, and cried to do so, but I told her she must not do that, but speak to buckra first; my wife's African name is Lassewa." The sister of this man, Aina, was examined, and said, "I had a husband on board of the ship; he was my husband before I left Sierra Leone; I had one husband; he is not on the estate, Jordan Hill, with me; I have not seen him since I landed—my husband's name is Oyo; I would like to have him back with me." Another African deposed, "I had a husband in Guinea; he came over in the ship with me. On the day we left the ship here, he and I were separated; I have not seen him since. I heard he is at Jordan Hill. I want him; his name is Bakharee." Lassewa was produced, and said, "I wish to be joined to John Thomas again." Aina wished to remain on the same estate with her brother. Oyo examined: "I had a wife on board the ship, but I have not yet found out the estate on which she lives." Aina, "This is my husband; we lived together in Africa as husband and wife—I wish to be joined to him again." Oyo re-examined, "This woman is my wife, I wish to be joined with her again." Bakharee, "I have a wife at Jordan Hill, and one at Corinth; this one is named Aboyome, and is my African wife. If I can get Aboyome, I won't live with the other. When I could not find Aboyome, I took up with a wife at Jordan Hill." Aboyome examined, "I was the wife of Bakharee in Africa; I wish to live with him again."

It was arranged at the close of these examinations, extending over several days, that Aina and Lassewa, from Jordan Hill, should go to Corinth with John Thomas; and that Aina and Aboyome, from Corinth, should go to Jordan Hill with Oyo and Bakharee.

In reference to the unhealthy and half-starved appearance of the Africans when sent to the estates, Dr. Huggins deposed, that of those apportioned to the Naparimas, a great number of them were in an unhealthy condition, and were found by him to be "thin and low in flesh;" and added, "the mortality among the newly-imported Africans is far greater than among any other class of the population." I am referring to the period immediately succeeding their arrival. I think it exceeds even that of the Coolies immediately after their arrival. Mr. JOHN GRAY, proprietor of the Missouri estate, said, that one fourth of the negroes sent to him were "in a state so debilitated, as not to be fit to be sent to any work;" and added, "I should say that nine-tenths of those who have come to me, have appeared on my first getting them to be half-starved." Dr. ROBERT JOHNSTON deposed that

"Most of those whom I saw were brought here in an unhealthy condition, but soon after they recovered their health materially; they are generally afflicted with dysentery, itch, and dropsy. I generally attend them in the house which is allotted to them on the estate; *one batch generally occupies a house*; the healthy are not separated from the diseased. The hospital in San Fernando is altogether inadequate to supply the want of rural hospitals; it could not properly contain more than twenty patients—I have seen *eighty-four* in it. I once attended the inquest held on an African corpse on the high-road to Savanna Grande; Mr. Knox, S.J., held the inquest; I was examined judicially by him. Of the same batch of which the deceased was one, I saw several left on the road in consequence of their not being able to walk through weakness; I did not consider the mortality great, considering the state in which they were brought here. The condition of that particular batch of apportioned Africans above alluded to was worse than any Coolies on their arrival here. I have attended more inquests on apportioned Africans found dead on the road than the one mentioned above. As far as I recollect, one of these latter inquests was held on a man who had died from dysentery. This is as far as my memory goes; I will not be positive. I have seen apportioned Africans, upwards of fourteen years of age, of both sexes, living without distinction of sex, in the same house."

Another witness, Mr. HUGGINS, deposed, that such was the weakness of some of the Africans apportioned to him, that he was

obliged to cart them to his estate. Mr. P. Campbell said, "I have heard of numbers that have died. . . . I remember one case of an apportioned African dying before reaching his destination. I saw his corpse by the side of the high-road." Several other persons were examined, who deposed to the utter indifference shown to the Africans by the proper authorities in Trinidad. To get rid of them on arrival, whether sick or well, appeared to be the rule; and whether they lived or died in the public roads, or on the estates, was a matter of small concern. Mr. GILBERT has appended the following note to this part of the evidence:—

"If proper powers had been delegated to the persons conducting this investigation, many cases might have been produced (without going about the country canvassing for persons to make charges against the Executive), still more revolting than those here detailed. Did no one ever hear of an African's being carried from place to place, covered with small-pox, who, finding no shelter, died in the woods, and was being eaten by *corbeaux*? I think the Registrar of Inquests would reveal such a case, as having occurred in the South Naparima Western Ward."

In reference to the manner in which the Africans are crowded together, one of the witnesses, Mr. HUGGINS, deposed as follows:—"I gave one house for the male apportioned Africans and another for the females. They all crowded, with one accord, in one house, and left the other empty." Mr. DENNIS, another witness, said he found in one place "about twelve people, besides a small child; they were of both sexes; the house cannot be more than twenty-four feet by twelve. I reported the death of a child, some time ago, to the manager of the estate, who said he did not know the child was sick; there was no medical assistance."

Mr. Gilbert complains in a note that the magistrate refused all his applications "to summon parties who were in possession of most important information, bearing on several of the charges;" whilst he availed himself of his power to do so, when he thought he could obtain counteracting evidence, and these he paid for their attendance. Surely this was most unfair.

The Rev. C. H. GRAYFOOT, Mr. A. P. WEARS, and the Rev. Mr. GILBERT, deposed to their deplorably dirty state, and to their want of decent clothes, some of whom would appear not to possess a second change.

In relation to the charge of the Africans being worked on Sundays, two witnesses were examined, who deposed that they had seen them engaged on the Ne Plus Ultra estate during Divine service; and, with respect to the neglect of religious instruction, several competent witnesses were examined who clearly showed that the planters were indifferent to it. The Rev. Mr. Gilbert in his evidence says:—

"In the parish of which I am now rector, there are great numbers of the recently imported captured Africans. I have made it my particular business to go to managers and proprietors of the several estates in the parish. I have offered the services of all the teachers in the parish on Saturdays and Sundays. I can affirm with a certainty of the truth that not thirty out of the whole number have taken advantage of the offers. I have written several letters to the Governor, complaining on this subject, and his Excellency declined to interfere. So far as I have had an opportunity of observing the mental capacity of these Africans, they display remarkable aptness, especially the younger ones, to receive and retain instruction. The first principles of Christian instruction and of secular instruction should be inculcated together, and continue to progress hand in hand."

It would appear that the planters are very anxious that the Africans allotted to them should be baptised. A curious reason is given for this, in a letter appended to the evidence, by the Rev. Mr. Grayfoot. It is as follows. In answer to the question, "Do any Africans attend Sunday or day schools?" he replies—

"None attend daily, and very few attend the Sunday school; not more than five or six from a neighbouring estate. I have baptised in all about eighty since I have been appointed to the parish. I have been resident here nearly a year. I have in every case insisted, to those who have brought them to be baptised, upon the necessity of *subsequent* instruction, which in very few cases has been complied with, the parties concerned appear to think it sufficient that they *are* baptised. The emigrants look upon it as a *charm*, and if the clergymen of the Church of England refuse to baptise them without *previous* instruction, which they ought decidedly to have, they either go of their own accord, or are induced by others to go to a church which looks upon baptism as *absolutely*, not 'as generally necessary to salvation.' Thus they become *nominally* Christians, while they are in reality as ignorant of the sanctifying influence of the Gospel, as if they were in their native country; I hope I shall not be deemed uncharitable when I say that the parties who bring them to be

baptised appear to be influenced by the *unhallowed* motive of having some control over them, through the *instrumentality* of god-parents, who are generally selected from among the labourers resident on the same estate on which the African immigrants are at first located."

Mr. GRAYFOOT laments that very few of the Africans attend Divine service, "for they appear very quickly to imbibe that spirit of indifference to the observance of the Lord's day, which is manifested by large numbers of all classes in this country." He says, "I have offered to devote the greater part of Saturday and part of Sunday, for the purpose of affording them instruction, but scarcely any attend on the Saturday. The excuse they make to me is, that *they have no time to come, for they are employed finishing their tasks.*"

It is due to Mr. GILBERT to state, that one important witness on whom he relied, had left the colony before the investigation took place, and others shrunk from giving their evidence, from fear of consequences to themselves. A Mr. J. B. FRANKLIN, writing to Mr. G., says:—

"I beg you will excuse my not attending the Court as a witness in the matter of immigrants; in fact, when I mentioned the one case I did to you, some weeks past, I had no idea it would have gone so far; I have thought very seriously of the matter, and would not like my name called in question; my reasons I will be better able to explain when I see you."

And another witness, Mr. E. BROWN, who was relied on, wrote as follows:—

"Relative to what I have told you with regard to the Africans' treatment, I beg leave to decline giving formal evidence on that score, as I am employed on estates, and this evidence surely will not do me any good amongst certain persons. You will excuse my thus declining, as this would surely injure me."

Such are the main facts and incidents connected with this remarkable inquiry. It gives us a glimpse, and but a glimpse, of the condition of the African immigrants in Trinidad; and yet, in face of this, and much more, the planters of that colony are to be trusted with a larger amount of control than ever, over the persons and the welfare of these unhappy strangers. Though we cannot agree with Mr. Gilbert in all his opinions and recommendations, we offer him our most hearty thanks for the courage and ability he has displayed, in bringing to light the treatment of the captured Africans in Trinidad. No doubt he will have a heavy penalty to pay for the boldness and success of his attack on a state of things disgraceful to all who have permitted it, and a reproach to any civilised and Christian community.

IMMIGRATION OF AFRICANS INTO BRITISH GUIANA.

In reply to the memorial addressed by the Anti-slavery Committee to Lord Grey, on the subject of African immigration into Guiana, a copy of which will be found in the last *Reporter*, they have received the following communication, viz.:—

"Downing-street, Jan. 24, 1851.

"Sir,—I am directed by Earl Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th December last, stating the objections entertained by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to an ordinance passed by the Legislature of British Guiana, entitled, 'An ordinance to provide for the subsistence, moral and religious instruction, and well-being of liberated Africans,' brought to that colony.

"Lord Grey desires me to state to you, in reply, that having considered this ordinance, his lordship has not thought it expedient to advise her Majesty to disallow it, but has addressed such instructions to the Governor on the subject, as have appeared to his lordship to be required.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

"B. HAWES."

By the ordinance thus allowed to go into operation, Lord Grey has consented to the enactment of a modified slave code in Guiana; and we have reason to fear that a similar measure, passed by the Legislative Council of Trinidad, and against which the Anti-slavery Committee memorialised in November last, has been allowed the force of law in that island. We cannot but express the bitter disappointment we feel that his lordship should have given his sanction to a series of coercive measures, deeply affecting the just rights of the labouring classes in the British colonies, such as none of his predecessors in office would ever allow to be entertained; and which, we believe, in their working, will either be found impracticable, or be enforced with a severity little short of

that required under the old slave code, to coerce labour and enforce obedience.

The legislative bodies in Guiana and Trinidad, composed of officials, planters, and merchants, have never shown, in any ordinances framed by them, the slightest appreciation of the rights of the labourers, or any desire to conciliate their good-will. The only check hitherto, on the mis-legislation of these colonies, has been the veto possessed by the Crown; but that has now been suspended in its action in favour of the labourers, and the planters have it all their own way. They will exult in their triumph, but the discontent and suffering of the people, occasioned by this short-sighted policy—for whatsoever is unjust and inhumane, is short-sighted—may manifest themselves in forms which may occasion much embarrassment to the Government, and essentially impede that prosperity, which it is sought by such unworthy means to secure. We call upon all our friends in the colonies to agitate for the repeal of these ordinances, as a great duty they owe to liberty and humanity.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1st, 1851.

The variety of opinions entertained, respecting the present state of the British West India colonies, leads us to welcome any information which will throw light upon it, especially when it comes from quarters on which reliance may be placed. We have, therefore, great satisfaction in presenting to our readers, in the present number of the *Reporter*, the first series of papers prepared by Messrs. G. W. Alexander and J. Candler, as the fruits of their late visit to these colonies. Barbadoes, British Guiana, and Trinidad claimed their first attention, and on each of these colonies will be found recorded their unprejudiced opinions.

We cannot introduce these interesting and important papers to the attention of our readers, without reminding them of a few facts. Previously to the abolition of slavery, in 1834, it is a point established beyond all question, that the commercial condition of the slave colonies was deplorable, and that the slave population was rapidly wasting away under the murderous system to which they were exposed. The whole body of West India planters, and their mercantile correspondents in this country, might be called as witnesses to these points. No one can read the Parliamentary Reports on the commercial distress of the West Indies, from 1807 to the period of abolition, without reaching the conclusion that they were in a state of decay and ruin. In a Parliamentary Report, No. 65, 1807, it is stated, "That since the year 1799, there has taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters, resulting from a progressive diminution of the price of sugar." The price at which that sugar could then be raised is stated, for Jamaica, at 20s. 10d., and for the other islands, 19s. 6d. per cwt., "after accounting and giving credit for the amount received for the sale of rum;" and these sums, per cwt., it is added, "may be taken as the average expense of cultivation, independent of interest on capital." It is then observed, looking at the expense incurred for freight, insurance, and mercantile charges, and at the average price of sugar, "it is evident that the planters must have cultivated their estates at a loss." In concluding their Report, the Committee said that there had been laid before them "the strongest concurrent testimony and proof, that unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of the planters, and of persons in this country holding annuities, and otherwise dependant upon those properties for their income, must, inevitably, very soon take place, which must be followed by the loss of a vast capital advanced on securities in those countries, and by the most fatal injury to the commercial, maritime, and financial interests of Great Britain."

Passing over the interval from 1807 to 1831, during which the complaints of the West India body were again and again brought under the attention of Parliament, we then find that the "Acting Committee of the West India Planters and Merchants," composed of the most eminent members of the body, presented their case to Government, in which they demonstrated "that the annual contingent expenditure of producing one cwt. of sugar, independently of rum, is 15s. 10d. per cwt.;" and that 15s. 8d. per cwt. "may be taken to exhibit a fair average for the colonies at large;" and that "the import and sale charges amount to 8s. 6d. per cwt., independently of unavoidable waste and drainage on the passage." They sum up the whole in the following terms:—"The average

price of sugar for the last twelve months is 24s. 10d. per cwt., while the cost of production, and charges of import and sales, as before stated, amount to 24s. 4d. per cwt., thus proving, that on the average estates there is no return for capital invested, and, therefore, on many estates a positive loss is incurred."

In 1832, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the commercial state of the West Indies; and in their elaborate Report they say, "Your Committee have received abundant evidence of this distress, which is said to have existed, in a considerable degree, for ten or twelve years past, and to have been greatly aggravated within the last three or four." The statements and calculations submitted to the Committee showed a loss of sixpence per cwt. on the sugars exported from the colonies to Great Britain, independently of the loss sustained on the capital invested. In commenting upon these statements, they say:—"They are chiefly useful, as explaining the component parts of the planter's expenditure, and thus facilitating the ascertainment of the causes of that distress, of which, whether or not it be admitted in the extent and in the mode in which their statement would exhibit it, the existence is notorious." At the close of their Report the Committee say, "In concluding their consideration of the causes of the depressed state of the West India colonist, your Committee have not forgotten that that depression has existed in former times, and at periods anterior to the abolition of the slave-trade;" and, they might have added, notwithstanding that, during this long period, they enjoyed the monopoly of the British markets, to the exclusion even of British India and Mauritius sugars, by heavy differential duties, and large bounties on any surplus they might export to foreign countries. Lord Ripon, when Colonial Secretary, in an admirable review of the causes of West India distress, in 1831, said, "The existence of severe commercial distress, amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies, is, unhappily, but too evident. . . . Without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of that distress, which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is in vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependant on their own voluntary labour for support; in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward." And he added, "I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses, of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just." In searching for the causes of West India distress, the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1832, attributed it principally to "over-production," and pronounced the case to be "entirely remediless on the part of the producer." They said, "The West India colonist not only feels, with any other proprietor of land, the difficulty of altering the application of his capital; he not only feels, in a greater degree than proprietors in general, the difficulty of changing the appropriation of his soil; but he is subject to a burden peculiar to himself,—that of maintaining, be his profits what they may, the whole body of labourers and their families existing on the land. He is compelled, too, by a law, of which public considerations forbid the repeal, to maintain them in industrious employment, and is thus under the necessity of producing and reproducing the very article, of which the superabundance depresses him." In other words, the institution of slavery had run its course, and was bearing its appropriate fruits.

But another fact meets us in connexion with the past, and that is—the fearful waste of life occasioned by the slave system in the West Indies. We shall not enter into the afflicting details which this subject presents, but confine ourselves to the simple statement, that during a period of eleven years, ending with 1829-30, the decrease in the slave population of our thirteen slave colonies, amounted to the fearful sum of more than fifty-two thousand, beyond the births for those years. Over-working, under-feeding, and brutal punishment were the main causes of this frightful waste of human life; and, therefore, it became obvious, both on grounds of common humanity, as well as of commercial policy, that slavery should be abolished. Had not the Reform Parliament put an end to the atrocious system, it would have fallen by its own weight, or have been terminated by a bloody insurrection.

The relief afforded the West India body and West India interests by emancipation, was immense; and had the planters but acted with an enlightened view to their own interests, they might have derived permanent advantages from the great change, begun in 1834, and

consummated in 1838. Instead of this, however, they entered into conflict with the labourers; they showed themselves jealous of the liberty they had acquired; they sought to fortify themselves by legislative acts, of a most reprehensible character, against the people; and the people, in return, were compelled to defend themselves. Yet, notwithstanding this unfavourable state of things, the colonies were gradually relieving themselves from the burthens left on them by the system of slavery; the relations between masters and servants began to be better understood; and the foundation had been laid for their future prosperity, when the Sugar Act of 1846 laid all parties prostrate, and from that blow it will be long before they recover. In fact, it will revolutionise the whole of West India property; for it is impossible, under the circumstances which that Act has created, that the great mass of landed property there, can remain in the hands of its present possessors. It is too deeply involved to be extricated by any amount of profits that can now be realised; and an Encumbered Estate Bill is as much needed for the West India colonies, and would be as great a boon, as that which has gone into effect in Ireland.

From the foregoing statement it may be inferred, that colonial prosperity must not be measured by the quantity of produce raised, but by the cost at which it can be produced. Now we have no hesitation in saying that on estates, carefully and economically managed, and where the means of carrying on the cultivation are adequate to their wants, sugar can be produced by free labour, at a much less cost than by that of slaves; and we will add, that depressed as the West India colonies are now said to be, their credit in the money market is greater at this time, than it was previously to the abolition of slavery. But we cannot consent to measure the results of emancipation by the profit or the loss it may have secured or occasioned to planters and merchants. We measure it by the substantial benefits it has conferred upon three-quarters of a million of human beings. They feel, in common with their employers, the effects which have resulted from the unfair competition to which they have been subjected, by the late change in our fiscal regulations, and the heavy weight of taxation which has been thrown on them, as we think, most unjustifiably and unwisely; but they are free, and this reconciles them to much that would otherwise be unbearable. With these remarks, we commend the papers of Messrs. Alexander and Candler to the best attention of our readers, and, indeed, to all who wish to form a correct opinion of the present state of our emancipated colonies.

In connexion with the laws recently enacted in Trinidad, for regulating the immigration of African labourers into that colony at the expense of the imperial treasury, has been brought to light the condition and treatment of this unfortunate class of persons. The Rev. Mr. Gilbert, rector of St. Paul's, San Fernando, in the district of Naparimas, in consequence of a communication made by him to Lord Harris on the subject, has been challenged to produce evidence in support of his charges. The challenge was accepted on the part of the revd. gentleman, though under manifold disadvantages—occasioned, we regret to say, chiefly by the difficulties thrown in his way by the governor of the colony, and the magistrate appointed to preside at the investigation. Notwithstanding, however, the difficulties he had to contend with, Mr. Gilbert clearly established the fact, that separation of kindred had taken place—that persons in a diseased and sickly state had been sent to the estates, when they ought to have been placed in the hospital—that parties so sent had died on the highway—that the mortality among the Africans had been great—that no care had been taken on estates to prevent the crowding of the poor creatures in small houses, nor proper attention paid to their cleanliness or the decencies of life—that, in one case at least, the Africans were worked during the hours of Divine worship—and that, from a variety of causes, their education and religious instruction, with few exceptions, formed no part of their employers' care. We are assured that much more would have been proved, had all necessary facilities been given to Mr. Gilbert, and had not the fear of consequences led some parties to shrink from a bold avowal of the facts within their cognisance. We are now left to conjecture, that if the whole case were known; that is, if the examination had been extended over the whole island, instead of being confined to one district, and limited to such voluntary evidence as Mr. Gilbert could procure, we should have had presented to us a picture of misery and wretchedness, not much better than is to be seen in Cuba and Brazil.

It must not be supposed, however, that the ill-treatment of liberated Africans is confined to Trinidad; we have had occasion to call public attention to acts of cruelty perpetrated on some of them who had been sent to Jamaica. In one case, they were literally coerced by the whip to their work, and treated by their employer and his agents as if they had been slaves. In Guiana, in consequence of the severe labour exacted from them, and the want of a sufficient supply of food, the Africans on an estate belonging to one of the magistrates of that colony refused to work. This was construed into an act of rebellion, and forthwith coercive measures were taken to reduce the refractory people to obedience; and, we learn, from papers recently laid before Parliament, that certain of them who were considered ringleaders, have been severely punished, by imprisonment, with hard labour, in the colonial gaol. We suppose this is intended as an example, to deter them from the like conduct in future; but we ask, how long are these things to continue? So far as we are concerned, every well-authenticated case of abuse shall be held up to reprobation in this country, and until effectual guarantees can be obtained, that this and every other class of immigrants introduced into our colonies are humanely and honourably treated, we shall steadily resist all attempts to increase their number.

We regret to say that no reasonable hope can be entertained that the present Congress of the United States will either repeal or modify the atrocious Fugitive Slave Act. One of the members from Indiana, Mr. Julian, on the 6th of last month, asked leave of the House of Representatives to present a petition from a Society of Quakers in that State, against the Act, and moved that it be referred to a Committee, with instructions to frame a Bill repealing the law. The motion was lost by a vote of 119 to 68. Supposing this decision to represent the feeling of the House, it is quite clear that the fugitive slaves, in the free States, are to be left without the shadow of protection, except that which the public conscience, and the humanity of the people, may afford them. In the meantime, the work of kidnapping and capture goes on; and the free people of colour are dragged from their families and from their homes, and sent on to the slave States, on the oaths of wretches who live by "the wages of iniquity."

It is satisfactory, however, to find that the more virtuous and Christian portion of the people in the free States, are determined to disobey the inhuman law, and to suffer its heaviest penalties, rather than betray the slave to his master, or aid him in the capture. Perhaps the opposition of Congress to reconsider the infamous Act, and the spectacle of innocent men and women dragged from their homes to slavery in the South, may ultimately array against slavery itself, so formidable an opposition as to overthrow it.

The South is bent upon maintaining and extending the institution of slavery; but the intention appears to us not less insane than wicked. One of the great reasons why the slave population have, for so many years past, remained quiescent under their multiplied wrongs, has been the conviction that the day of their emancipation drew nigh. They knew that their friends in the North were labouring for them; but let the hope of freedom, by peaceful means, be torn from their breasts, and it is impossible to say how soon, and how fierce a contest may arise. The American negro will not always remain a slave; but will vindicate his claim to freedom. It is melancholy to think what awful scenes may occur, when an injured people, losing all self-restraint, attempt to avenge their wrongs upon the heads of their oppressors. The latest news from New York announces the rumour of an anticipated slave insurrection in Virginia. It is said that letters have been intercepted, implicating about 600 slaves on different plantations. We trust there is no foundation for this rumour, for the sake both of the slaves and their masters.

An extremely valuable work on "The Cotton and Commerce of India," has just made its appearance, and will, we have no doubt, claim a large share of public attention, from the large amount of information it contains, and the careful, we may indeed say, the conscientious manner in which the investigation of the subject, considered in relation to the interests of this country, has been conducted. We cannot say that we precisely agree with the author, Mr. JOHN CHAPMAN, the founder of the great Indian Peninsular Railway, in all his statements and deductions; but we confess that the great mass of facts which he has collected, the scientific manner in which they are arranged, and the solid reasonings by which they are accompanied, lead us to doubt many of our previous opinions. At all events, Mr. Chapman gives his readers the opportunity of forming their own judgments upon the great and vital questions he brings under review.

We shall not attempt, in the present number of the *Reporter*, to give an analysis of this able work; but shall content ourselves with earnestly recommending it to the perusal of our readers. It is a book for reference, and is eminently calculated to impress upon the minds of all who study its contents, the grandeur of our possessions in India, and the means necessary to be used to develop its magnificent resources.

Mr. Chapman not only looks at British India with the eye of a man of science, but as a Christian and a philanthropist. He sees that "India now requires and invites a work greater than that of Penn or Clarkson;" and he invites to that work. We trust his appeals will not be without results; and that his work may have an extended circulation.

IMMIGRATION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR FROM THE UNITED STATES INTO THE BRITISH WEST INDIA COLONIES.

We beg to call the special attention of our American friends to the following official correspondence relative to the immigration of the coloured population of the United States into the British colonies. Under the painful circumstances in which they are placed at the present moment, we should feel that it would probably be advantageous to many of them to go thither, and more especially those who have fled from slavery in the South, and to whom the cold winters of Canada might prove injurious. But we could not be parties to any arrangements which should interfere in the slightest degree with their personal liberty in the choice of employers and employments, and that freedom of action which is necessary to the development of a useful and manly character. How far the propositions of Lord Grey meet these conditions, we must leave our friends to judge; but, certainly, before we could recommend their adoption, we think it indispensable that they should be greatly modified. We are anxious to promote the best interests of our coloured friends by their removal to the West Indies; but we are unwilling that the price they should pay for it should be the sacrifice of any right that properly belongs to them.

“Downing-street, August 14th, 1850.

“Sir,—I am directed by Earl Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 27th ult. and 2nd August, further respecting the emigration to the West Indies of the black and coloured population of the United States.

“His lordship desires me to transmit to you a copy of a memorandum which he has drawn up, explaining his views on the subject.

“Lord Grey would be glad to know whether you concur in these views, and whether, from your communication with parties interested in the colonies, you can ascertain whether they would receive their support.

“Should such be the case, Lord Grey would propose transmitting copies of this memorandum to the Governors of the West India colonies, and would also request Viscount Palmerston to send some of them to the British consuls, for circulation at those places in the United States from which emigrants would be likely to go.

“Before taking these steps, however, it would be necessary to ascertain officially that there would be no objection to this on the part of the United States Government, as it must of course be distinctly understood that otherwise her Majesty's Government could not countenance any attempt of the kind proposed.

“I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
“David Turnbull, Esq.” “B. HAWES.”

(MEMORANDUM.)

“It has been suggested that the urgent want of labour, which has been so much complained of in the British West India colonies, might be supplied to a considerable extent by encouraging the settlement in these colonies of emigrants from the black and coloured population of the United States.

“This population, it is alleged, is becoming, in some of the States, and more especially in the most Northern of the slave States, inconveniently numerous in proportion to the whites, and to the means of profitable employment which can be found for them; hence it is supposed that large numbers of them might be induced to emigrate, if arrangements could be made which should ensure to them the means of settling in comfort in the British sugar colonies.

“Of the value to the colonies of such emigrants, provided that they were really of the class of agricultural labourers, no doubt can be entertained; such persons, coming from a civilised country and speaking the English language, would probably be of more real use to the colony in which they might settle than double the number of the rude natives of the coast of Africa or of Indian Coolies. Nor is there more reason to doubt, that to the emigrants themselves the advantage would also be very great, of being removed from a country in which their position is so painful, to colonies where slavery does not exist—where blacks and whites are placed on terms of perfect equality—and where there is almost an unlimited demand for labour in the cultivation of a soil of extreme fertility.

“It may, therefore, be safely assumed, that it is an object of great importance to all the parties concerned that this sort of emigration should proceed as extensively as possible. But in order that it may be established upon any considerable scale, and with fair hopes of success, it must be carried on mainly by the exertions and enterprise of individuals, whose efforts may indeed be seconded and encouraged by the measures of the Government, but cannot be dispensed with, since it would be impos-

sible for the Government directly to undertake the task of collecting and introducing such emigrants into the colonies; this can only be attempted by individuals through the Colonial Legislatures, and the Government might do much to encourage and assist their efforts.

“With this view, it would in the first place be necessary to ascertain that the Government of the United States had no objection to an attempt being made to promote this description of emigration from those States, since her Majesty's Government could otherwise give no countenance to the adoption of any measures for that purpose. Supposing the assent of the Government of the United States to have been obtained, there are three principal points to which the attention of the Colonial Legislatures should be directed.

“1st. The settlement of American planters, having capital and experience, as well as of coloured labourers, should be encouraged by affording them the utmost possible facility in obtaining the privileges of British subjects by naturalisation.

“2ndly. With the same object, provision should be made by law for giving legal vitality to engagements entered into by emigrants previously to their leaving America, to repay money advanced to enable them to settle in the British colonies.

“3rdly. The Colonial Legislatures should pass laws similar in principle to those which have been passed in Mauritius and Trinidad, to allow of money being granted from the public revenue to pay for the introduction of immigrants, but providing that all immigrants so brought to the colonies at the public expense, should be required, for five years after their arrival, either to enter into yearly contracts to labour, on which a stamp duty should be charged, or else to pay a small monthly tax. The object of this regulation being both to stimulate the industry of the immigrants, and to obtain from them, directly or indirectly, the repayment of a part at least of what they had cost the colony.

“Without any further interference on the part of the Colonial Legislatures than would be afforded by the above measures, the proposed immigration might, it is conceived, be carried on to a large extent, and with great advantage, by individuals, provided this were attempted judiciously.

“The following is suggested as the mode of proceeding which would be most likely to succeed:—

“In suitable situations, that is to say, within easy reach of plantations where a demand for labour might be reckoned upon, villages, from 100 to 150 cottages, with a school and chapel, and proper houses for schoolmasters and ministers, should be prepared; each cottage having attached to it land enough for a garden, and a larger quantity of land being reserved, to be acquired by immigrants when they should be able to buy it. This preparation having been made, persons should be employed in America to collect parties of emigrants, care being taken to select those used to agricultural labour, and as far as possible to compose each body of immigrants of persons known to each other before their departure. From what is known of the character of the coloured race in America, there is reason to believe that the success of the measure would to a very great extent depend upon the pains taken upon this point, so as to secure to the immigrants the advantage of having, from the moment of their arrival in the colony, a society which would be agreeable to them.

“If scattered singly amongst strangers, they would become discontented, as was the case when this kind of immigration was attempted in Trinidad; but if parties of friends and relations were to go and settle together, they would enjoy all the pleasures and advantages of society. It is believed that by far the best mode of collecting parties of immigrants of this sort would be to employ some of the coloured preachers who are to be found in the Northern slave States, and who would be glad to collect for themselves congregations, to be settled together in the British colonies.

“Too much stress cannot be laid on the benefit which would result from placing bands of immigrants in this manner under the superintendence of their religious teachers.

“The immigrants should be given leases of their cottages at a very moderate rent, just sufficient to pay a reasonable interest on the cost of building them, with the option of purchasing the freehold when they had the means of doing so, and also of buying an additional quantity of land when they required it.

“It would be of the greatest importance that an arrangement advantageous to the immigrants should be made in this respect, as otherwise they could not be expected to remain content in the settlements assigned to them. The planter, therefore, ought not to look for remuneration to the direct payment received from them, so much as to the increased command of labour afforded by their being placed in the neighbourhood of his plantation.

“It is true that the preparation of villages would be attended with considerable expense, and it would probably, therefore, not be advisable to look exclusively to this mode of carrying on immigration; but, on the other hand, it may reasonably be calculated that if comfortable cottages of this kind could be provided, the rent paid for them would afford a moderate return on the capital invested, while in addition to this, the increased value given to the adjoining lands would be a source of much advantage to the proprietors. The assurance of finding residences

ready for them, would also afford what probably would be a sufficient inducement to persons able to defray the cost of their own passage from America, to settle in the colonies; so that, with regard to them, the preparation of the proposed villages would be the only expense to be incurred. The formation of such villages would also be very useful as an encouragement to immigrants who might go to the colony with the view of being content, at first, with such accommodation as can at present be found on the plantations. It would reconcile such persons to their situation, if they could find in the villages the society of their own countrymen, and could look forward to purchasing land and building cottages for themselves when they could earn a little money.

"Before leaving America, an engagement should be made with the immigrants who required it, to give them employment at the *full rate of wages* which their labour would command in Jamaica. This is most essential. If the person introducing such immigrants attempted to make it answer, by binding them to work for him at a lower rate of wages than they would find prevailing in the colony on their arrival, all experience shows that disputes and discontents would immediately arise; the immigrant would be desirous of being freed from what he would find an onerous engagement, and, wishing to do so, he would soon succeed in making the engagement an equally onerous one to the master, in spite of any attempt to compel him by law to give the labour he had promised. If the planter is to give full wages to the immigrants, and also to let to them their cottages only at a moderate rent, he must of course be repaid in some other way for the actual cost of their introduction; because, though the command of a sufficient amount of labour to carry on the cultivation of his estates in an effective manner would be a very great advantage, even without the wages paid being below the market rate, this would not be sufficient to compensate the person by whom the labourers were introduced for his outlay, since his neighbour, who had not borne the expense, would equally share in this advantage. Hence the introducer of the immigrants must look for repayment of his expense to the bounty granted by the colony, and to what might be paid by the immigrants themselves, in consequence of the agreements made with them previously to their departure from America. The distance from America to the British colonies is so short, and the expense of the passage so small, that in many cases the immigrants would be able themselves to pay for their passage, and would prefer doing so, to becoming subject to a tax on their labour by accepting the bounty offered by the colonies. For those who could not afford to pay their own passage, the cost would in general be amply covered by the bounty; but in some cases, no doubt, the immigrants might require further assistance. To meet these cases, it would be of the utmost importance that the Colonial Legislatures should provide some cheap and simple mode of enforcing agreements entered into by immigrants before they left America, to pay by instalments from their wages what might have been advanced on their account. Such a law would operate very beneficially, more especially in the case of slaves liberated from slavery for the purpose of settling in a British colony. If an American planter could make a contract with his slaves before their manumission, which should be legally binding upon them on their arrival in a British colony, and for the enforcement of which some very simple machinery were provided, it might well answer his purpose to move his whole gang of slaves from Maryland or Virginia to Jamaica or Guiana, for the sake of the far superior soil and climate he would find there for the cultivation of cotton and sugar; and it might be a highly advantageous arrangement to the many West India proprietors who cannot, from various reasons, reside in the colonies, to let their estates on lease to such planters, instead of carrying on the cultivation by agents on their own account.

"In order to make this answer to the American planter, it would be by no means necessary that he should call upon his slaves to pay him anything like the amount of their value according to the market price of slaves in America; an engagement to pay him a far smaller amount would practically give him a security for obtaining their labour; because, if it be supposed that slaves thus removed from America had agreed to pay their former master, say two shillings a week from their wages, it is obvious that this would be done by his stopping that amount from their earnings, and that he would be able to afford to give them nominally higher wages than any other person who would have to pay them in full. The arrangement would, in effect, be that which has been often suggested, of giving the advantage to the introducer of such immigrants of commanding their labour at a lower than the market rate of wages, but it would avoid the objection to which agreements giving a direct claim to labour have always been found practically liable, by determining in money the amount of the claim, and enabling the labourer, in case of disagreement with his master, to pay in money instead of labour.

"But the planter having this security for the labour of his former slaves, whatever difference there might be in the annual expenses of a cotton plantation in one of these colonies on one hand, or the American on the other, in consequence of wages being payable in the one case, and certain supplies only to be furnished in the other, there can be no doubt that this difference would be far more than covered by the value of the larger produce which would be obtained, with the advantages of a superior

climate and soil, and of the greater efficiency of free than slave labour. Indeed, irrespective of the greater produce which might be calculated upon from the same number of hands, it may well be doubted whether, taking into account all the expenses, direct and indirect, of maintaining slaves all the year round, as compared to that of paying wages for labour when it is wanted, there would be any difference of cost in favour of slave labour.

"It has been further suggested that grants of land should be made to immigrants, to induce them to settle in the British colonies. There may possibly be some special cases in which this would be advisable, but in general it appears to be neither necessary nor desirable.

"In most of the colonies, land far better suited for settlement can be purchased at a very low rate from individuals, than any that remains in the power of Government. In Jamaica, indeed, it is believed that nearly all the land eligible for settlement is private property; and in Guiana, where the Crown still owns a vast extent of fertile land, there is so much land belonging to individuals which might be purchased very cheap, and on which much capital has been expended in erecting buildings, and making roads, dams against the sea, and drains, that it would be far more judicious to select some of those abandoned plantations for any experiments of the kind contemplated, than to obtain free grants from the Crown, even if these could be made under regulations sufficiently strict to avoid the objections to which free grants are generally open.

"Lastly, with reference to the mode in which any measure of this kind might be carried into execution, it may be suggested that associations of persons interested in increasing the supply of labour in different colonies should be formed, that they should, by subscription or otherwise, raise the money necessary for the preliminary expenses, and then proceed to make preparation for the reception of emigrants, and to employ persons in America to collect them. But in many cases it is believed that where estates of considerable extent are in the hands of individuals, they could carry on such measures upon a limited scale and singly, with greater economy, and with greater freedom from risk, than this could be accomplished by any company or association. The capital required in preparing a single village for the reception of immigrants, and in conveying a party of immigrants from America to Jamaica, would be by no means very large, more especially if the cost of the passage were paid by the immigrants themselves, or covered by a bounty granted by the Legislature as suggested."

UNITED STATES—FREEDOM AND SLAVERY—THE UNION PARTY.

The following is an abridgment of an exceedingly able and interesting article, taken from the *Washington National Era*, which we commend to the careful consideration of our readers:—

THE CONSTITUTION AND COMMON SENSE.

While slave labour shall exist in one part of the Union, and free labour in another, there will be a conflict of interests, a difference of opinions, and an antagonism of prejudices, producing more or less discussion and agitation. There will be an unavoidable strife for the mastery, wherever the two interests shall come in contact. The true policy, therefore, of all those who seek to avoid irritation and disquiet, is, to prevent this contact, whenever possible: and this can be best accomplished by the recognition of the nationality of one interest, and the locality of the other. The attempt to nationalise both must engender bitter strife and dangerous excitement.

The question is—*which interest is recognised as national, by the Federal constitution, and which ought to be so recognised, on the ground of reason?* Can even a candid Southern man doubt on these points? Was the declaration of independence—the groundwork of our present Union—a declaration in favour of human bondage or of human liberty; of the rights of the master, or of the rights of the man? Was not the constitution formed to establish the rights asserted in that declaration—in other words, to secure the blessings of liberty? Was not this its primary object, and do not all its main provisions contemplate personal freedom, and security for personal freedom, as the great end of society, and the great end to be effected by the Union? Do not the debates of the Federal Convention of 1787, does not a fair interpretation of the constitution demonstrate, that in "the more perfect Union" to be established by it, slavery was to be regarded as exceptional, local, transitory, while liberty was recognised as *the law* which was to prevail "more and more unto the perfect day?" * *

Under the constitution, then, liberty is the national interest, slavery a local interest. And in this respect, the constitution is in harmony with reason. No advocate of slavery will be shameless enough to assume that the true end of human government is to establish and perpetuate human bondage. All Americans, of all sections, agree that governments are instituted to secure the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This is the end contemplated by the government of the Union. The chief interest of the people of the free States, comprising two-thirds of the white population of the country, and also of the non-slaveholding citizens of the slave States, constituting the great majority of that section,

is liberty. This, too, is the greater interest of even the slaveholders, the right to themselves being of infinitely more value to them than the right to their slaves. While all classes of the free population, north and south, are vitally concerned in the preservation and extension of liberty, as their chief interest, slavery is a curse to the slaves, a curse to the slaveholders, an injury to his non-slaveholding fellow-citizens, an element of demoralisation, weakness, embarrassment and peril to the State, and a source of unfraternal discord to the Union. To establish, secure, and extend liberty, can harm no legitimate interest, and cannot fail to promote the well-being and happiness of all sections; but to establish and extend slavery, while it may increase the pecuniary gain of a few holders of slaves, must, as it always has done, result in the extension of a low, stagnant, almost unimprovable form of civilisation.

Which interest, then, ought to be *national*, which local—freedom or slavery?

When we insist that freedom, as the great national interest, ought to control and actuate the government of the Union, and that slavery should be recognised and treated as a local institution—that no administration is in harmony with the constitution and reason, which does not throw its legitimate influence on the side of freedom, we claim that our ground is constitutional and national—in conflict with no section, in harmony with the best interests of all. And when we insist that wherever the claims of freedom and slavery, under the constitution, come in collision, the former should be regarded as the principle, the latter the exception, being entitled to receive no favour but such as may be plainly written in the bond, we assume that our ground is the only true ground of peace and harmony.

MEASURES OF THE LAST SESSION.

Had the members of Congress from the North and South understood the philosophy of this conflict between freedom and slavery, they would never have dreamed of securing domestic tranquillity by what they styled "the adjustment" of the last session. On the contrary, shaping their course simply with a view to the quieting of excitement and discussion, and the excluding of the question of slavery from national politics, they would have at once fixed the condition of all the territory belonging to the Union, by applying to it the ordinance of 1787; and so far from imposing upon the free States an extra constitutional obligation in regard to slavery, have released them from the responsibility of upholding slavery in the district of Columbia. Had this been done, the question would have ceased to be agitated in northern politics, or to attract attention in national politics. It would have resolved itself chiefly into a moral and social question, to be decided by the States in which the institution exists. But its supporters from the South, and their peculiar friends from the North judged differently. It was determined that the will of the non-slaveholding citizens, generally, should be disregarded, and the territories of New Mexico and Utah should be laid open, so far as federal action was concerned, to the inroads of slavery; and that not only should their will be disregarded in this respect, but their opinions set at defiance, and their feelings outraged by an act attempting to compel them to become the active guardians of "slave property!" Instead of relieving them from responsibility for slavery, their responsibility was augmented.

What else could be expected from a policy, so unprincipled and unwise, but deep and wide-spread discontent? People could not "conquer their prejudices" in favour of liberty, their repugnance to participation in the wrong of slavery, so easily as some of their hoary-headed leaders. All over the free States, beyond the immediate range of influence of the officeholders, and politicians accustomed to consult slaveholding oracles, there was a spontaneous outburst of indignation at the passage of the so-called compromise measures, especially the Fugitive Act. Men, heretofore indifferent, have been aroused by this last act to the necessity of withstanding the demands of the slave power, and asserting the supremacy of freedom in the federal councils. The statesmen and politicians from the North, active or consenting to the measures, were denounced as false to their trust, and it became evident that, to secure themselves from falling victims to popular resentment, it was necessary to maintain union among themselves, and set on foot some counteracting movement and policy.

THE ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF THE UNION MOVEMENT.

In this way originated the present movement for the formation of a Union party. It has gone to work to agitate for the purpose of suppressing agitation. It secured the influence of the more corrupt portion of the press. It alarmed the mercantile classes with the cry of danger to the Union. It sent circulars to the clergy, calling upon them, as they loved their country, to inculcate devotion to the Union and obedience to the laws, well knowing that sermons fraught with such sentiments, at this particular juncture, would be understood as a *quasi* endorsement of the so-called compromise. It sought by private appeals to obtain from the distinguished men of the country a recognition of the wisdom of that compromise, and a protest against further agitation. It neglected no occasion of giving public receptions to members of Congress who had signalled themselves by its advocacy; and an active, widely-extended correspondence has been maintained for the purpose of getting up meetings.

Such is the aspect of the great Union party, as it styles itself!

What it means in the South is easily understood. We can be at no loss to comprehend its meaning in the North. Independently of the support of Messrs Webster, Cass, and Dickinson, and their coadjutors, these Union meetings are designed to subject Northern politicians to the rule of the slave power—either by the organisation of a national party on the Georgia platform, or by forcing both the old parties to adopt this platform. The union aimed at is, *UNION FOR THE SAKE OF SLAVERY*—for there is no political organisation at the North hostile to the Union.

We are not to be deceived by names. The new party, we doubt not, is quite sincere in its attachment to the Union, but seeks to maintain the Union by *nationalising slavery*; and its motto ought to be, "*Slavery and the Union, one and inseparable, now and for ever.*"

Read the report of the Georgia Convention.

The principles of the report of the Committee of Thirty-Three are the following:—

Repudiation of the Ordinance of 1787.

The Fugitive Act of the last session, unaltered in any essential point, and faithfully executed.

The perpetuation of slavery in the District of Columbia.

The admission of States into the Union, without restriction as to slavery.

Abstinence from the agitation in the North of the question of slavery.

And the full recognition and establishment of these principles are made indispensable conditions to the preservation of the Union.

This is the platform of the Union party, at the North as well as at the South; and upon it we find arrayed, the President of the United States, Messrs. Webster, Cass, Dickinson, Buchanan, Dallas, Clay, Foote, Cobb, Toombs, Stephens, flanked and supported by Messrs. Ketchum, Duer, Brady, Mike Walsh, Captain Rynders, and divers clergymen who have lately been responding to the appeals of the last-named gentry, by preaching solemn sermons on the divinity and infallibility of the powers that be.

We, too, in common with the Free-soil men (technically so called), and with the real anti-slavery members of the Whig and Democratic parties, claim to be members of the Union party, but whose motto is—"Union and liberty, one and inseparable, now and for ever."

It remains to be seen whether the scheme of this new Union party can be consummated. Whether it be or not, the inevitable tendency of the action of its projectors is to force all the questions between liberty and slavery into the next presidential canvass. This, so far as we can see, is their purpose; and, for one, we shall willingly meet the issue presented. Let the people decide at the polls between candidates representing, respectively, "the Union and slavery," and "the Union and liberty" parties.

OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE CASE OF ADAM GIBSON.

The fact that a free citizen of New Jersey was last week arrested on a false pretence and without legal warrant in Philadelphia, dragged before a United States commissioner, his liberty sworn away, and he hurried off into slavery,—all not merely without any credible testimony, but in defiance of positive evidence of his freedom,—is making a deep impression. Even the noisiest champions of the Fugitive Slave Law are touched by it, while the more moderate and candid supporters of that Act are deeply moved. The *Commercial Advertiser*, after recapitulating the leading facts, observes:—

"We beg to say that Mr. Commissioner Ingraham, of Philadelphia, has struck a deadlier blow at the Fugitive Slave Law, *as it is*, than all its opponents put together. He has proved that it can be perverted to injustice. He has made its enemies to rejoice, and has convinced us of the propriety of a reservation we have repeatedly made, when speaking of this enactment—made by Washington Hunt in his letter to Mr. Granger, and made by many others, who have desired that the Act should be entitled to the respect of a law of the land, and be universally recognised as obligatory, and entitled to popular obedience and support—to wit: that it was capable of amendment, and might safely be made less rigorous."

The *Express*, however, is determined not to see anything wrong in the law, nor any reason for allowing an alleged fugitive a trial by jury, in the facts of this case. It closes an article on the subject as follows:—

"By the way, it may as well be added, in regard to the slave case we are alluding to, that the negro Gibson was committed to safe hands by Commissioner Ingraham, and that there was no chance of his being delivered over to any one, unless he should be the *actual* owner of Gibson. The alleged slave was not handed over to the *claimants* of Gibson by Mr. Ingraham, but was sent to Maryland by faithful and trustworthy officers of Philadelphia, and well known by Mr. Ingraham to be worthy of the trust reposed in them. We have the authority of the *Pennsylvanian* for this statement."

Was there ever so contemptible a dodge before? Commissioner

Ingraham adjudged the man before him to be not Adam Gibson, the freeman he declared himself, but Emery Rice, the slave of Wm. Knight, of Elkton, Md. He gave him in charge of a United States officer, to be conveyed at Government expense to his adjudged owner. He was accordingly conveyed to Mr. Knight, but that gentleman, seeing at a glance that he was *not* his slave, refused to take him. He had simply to receive him, and the man would have been a slave for life. The United States sent the man into slavery by virtue of the Fugitive Act; the adjudged owner set him at liberty by disavowing the ownership affirmed by the commissioner. The law had nothing to do with his rescue from bondage; the commissioner had, if possible, still less; the honesty of Mr. Knight was his only shield. Now consider that many, if not most of the fugitives from slavery are sold "running," to slave traders, (whose character and standing at the South were so truthfully portrayed last year by Mr. Clay,) and any one may judge whether the rescue of Mr. Gibson was not a sheer accident. Ought the liberty or slavery of freemen to turn on the chance of their falling into the hands of such masters as Mr. Knight?

ARREST OF AN ALLEGED FUGITIVE FROM SLAVERY.

UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.—Before Commissioner Charles M. Hall.—A warrant was yesterday sworn out by Wm. W. Parker, of Richmond, Va., claiming to hold a power of attorney from John T. Smith, of Russell county, Va., charging that a coloured man named Henry Long is a fugitive from slavery; that he was the property of John T. Smith; and claiming to be put in possession of said Henry, to be taken back to Virginia. The man claimed, it appeared, was a waiter at the Pacific Hotel. The warrant was given to Deputy Marshal Walsh, who, with officers Brown, De Angeles, and another, went to the Pacific Hotel, accompanied by Mr. Parker, about one o'clock; went to the dining-room, saw the man, who was pointed out to them by Parker, called him out, arrested him, and immediately brought him to the Commissioner's Office, he having on his white apron as when attending table. Mr. Whitehead, a gentleman connected in the office with Messrs. Jay and Field, hearing of what had occurred, appeared in behalf of Long. Mr. Lewis Tappan and some other gentlemen also were present.

An immediate examination and disposal of the case was demanded by Mr. Parker, and it proceeded.

Mr. Parker testified to being 26 years of age; resides in Richmond and practises medicine there; the man Henry, here, belongs to Mr. Smith, of Russell county; my sister married Mr. Smith's brother; I have known Henry for the last five years; Mr. Smith sent to Richmond to me to hire him out, and I did so; let him out for a year to work in a store; he escaped; Mr. Libby, of Richmond, afterwards met him in New York; Mr. Smith lives 230 miles from Richmond; he has but one other slave in Richmond; I was in Russell county in 1846, and saw Henry there, and received him afterwards at Richmond, as I told Mr. S. I would, to hire him out; he was spoken of as being a very good servant.

In his cross-examination, witness said he did not know Henry was a slave, except from what he had heard in Russell county; my business at the North is to demand and get him back.

Officer Walsh testified to having arrested Long at the Pacific Hotel. He was pointed out by Mr. Parker.

Capt. Swack, of the schooner *New York*, plying as a packet between here and New York, testified to having seen Henry working at the store of Haskings and Libby, in Richmond, in 1848, or part of 1849; heard them say he had escaped.

On his cross-examination he said he did not know that Henry was a slave, but there are no free persons of colour in Richmond that work in the stores; slaves work in the stores; my vessel lies at the foot of Wall-street, ready for sea.

Mr. Whitehead was desirous of postponing the examination, to afford time to get the testimony of a man who is a waiter at the New England Hotel, who will prove that he lived in New York while he is claimed to have resided in Richmond. Long, in his affidavit to that effect, also claimed to be a freeman. Mr. Parker was opposed to any delay, and urged immediate action, as the more summary it was, he said, the more in accordance with the law. He thought the man might be brought up in fifteen minutes as well as fifteen days. Mr. Whitehead urged to the commissioner the propriety of giving him at least one hour, or longer, if necessary, to get the witness. It was a boon granted in the most common case, to say nothing of where liberty and life were at stake. He wished, too, that Messrs. Jay and Field, his elder counsel, were here, and that the case should be adjourned till next day.

Mr. Tappan also suggested an adjournment till to-day, but Mr. Parker thought Mr. Tappan had no right to say anything. This produced a severe rebuke from Mr. Tappan, who stated also that he did not think the marshal, Mr. Talmadge, a son of Colonel Talmadge, who was an aide-de-camp to General Washington, and whom it was his pleasure to know, would wish to hurry a man claiming to be a freeman off to slavery, without giving him a chance to be heard.

The commissioner was in doubt as to his power to adjourn the examination, when Mr. Tappan alluded to the fact of Judge Grier, in Philadelphia, having done so, and that adjournment saved the man from going to slavery.

The commissioner said he was desirous to do everything proper in the case, as Mr. Parker finally said he was, and it was concluded to adjourn to this forenoon. Mr. Jay then came in, and the hour of adjournment was fixed to ten o'clock.

Mr. Tappan asked the marshal if he could bail the man, but the marshal thought he had no power to do so, and Long was placed in the custody of the marshal, to be brought up again this forenoon.

The examination was held in a small inner office, occupied by the clerk of the United States Circuit Court. A number of persons were present, among whom was Rev. Mr. Ray, a coloured minister, and two or three other coloured persons. A number of coloured men were in the outer entry, the door to which was locked.

The man claimed is a lively-looking black man, about thirty years of age.

HENRY LONG SURRENDERED.

The last mail has brought us the issue of this case, which we extract from the *New York Tribune*.

Yes! Henry Long is his own man no longer. Judge Judson, on Wednesday, ordered him to be given up to his captors, and he was started on the road to the renowned State which our retiring senator regretted (like most of us) that he had not been born in. The Judge seems hardly to have considered worth his notice the point strongly urged and relied on by the defence—that the claimant was under obligation to produce the record evidence of his title to the slave, having shown that such exists. His controlling idea seemed to be this—"There was once a Henry Long in Virginia, who was this claimant's (assumed) slave; here is a Henry Long in New York; now, if this Henry Long is not *that* Henry Long, why don't he bring forward his father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and cousins, to prove it?" Cogent as this logic may seem, we demur to its legal conclusiveness; it reminds us too sharply of the case of the luckless chap in Algiers, who was found in the street, in a time of civil commotion, with a gun-flint in his pocket; and, therefore, arrested, condemned, and shot; the indictment, proof, and sentence being lumped together as follows:—"You scoundrel! what business had you with a gun-flint, unless you are one of the conspirators?"

Well: Long has started on his road to endless slavery, to the tune of "Carry me back to old Virginia." Uncle Sam pays the fifer: the catcher having sworn that he apprehended a forcible rescue, though nobody else had any suspicion of it. But who would travel at his own expense, and pay charges on his captive, when he might have a strong escort and every thing nice, at the cost of the Treasury?

Who cares for the expense so that the Union is safe?—To-day we presume the Union Committee will send round the hat to buy Long back again. That is right,—they have got him into slavery; we hope they will now get him out. For our part, our affection for the slave-trade don't increase very rapidly. "We have a liking for the sentiment, "Millions for defence,—not a cent for tribute!" But the Union and Safety Committee take another view of the matter, and we trust they will see Long ransomed without delay.

ANOTHER SLAVE CASE IN PENNSYLVANIA.—A FIGHT BETWEEN THE OFFICERS AND NEGROES.

About three months since a writ was issued by Commissioner Edward D. Ingraham, for the arrest of a fugitive slave, who, it was alleged, was then residing at Parkesburgh, Chester county. The marshal did not succeed in arresting the man, and until Friday last the writ remained inoperative.

On Friday night last, a party, consisting of Deputy Marshal Hatzell, Constable Agen, and four or five other men, proceeded to Coatesville, Chester county, to execute the writ. They arrived at the house where the fugitive was supposed to be secreted, and knocked at the door. A coloured woman opened the windows to know their business, when she was informed that they had broken the traces of their waggon, and wished a light to mend them. She came down stairs, and admitted the party in waiting.

After they had effected an entrance, and were proceeding up stairs, they were met by two coloured men and two coloured women. The women and one of the men were armed with axes, and the other had a gun. The marshal told them that they were in search of a fugitive slave; but they refused to let him or any of his men enter the room. The gun was taken from the man, and the party endeavoured to disarm the man with the axe. A pistol was fired at him, the ball of which must have entered his breast, but he still maintained his resistance. The fight continued until the Southern gentleman, who was with the party, advised the marshal to withdraw, remarking that he would not have one of them killed for all the negroes in Pennsylvania. The party then retired. Several shots were fired, and more than one coloured person is supposed to have been shot. One was seen to fall as the officers were leaving. None of the marshal's party were injured.—*Philadelphia Bulletin*.

**TRIAL OF WESLEYAN PREACHERS IN NORTH CAROLINA
(U. S.) FOR CIRCULATING A PAMPHLET, ENTITLED
"THE TEN COMMANDMENTS."**

We give so much of the trial as will impart a correct view of the opposition which exists to the circulation of religious truth, when its tendency is considered adverse to the peculiar institution. The minister of the Gospel, in the exercise of his functions, is completely under the control of the slave power; but should he, from accident or conviction, preach the Gospel in all its integrity, he will be, at once, quietly warned either to leave the State, or, as in the case about to be reported, be indicted for conspiring to raise an insurrection.

The Revds. Messrs. McBride and Crooks were indicted for having given the "Ten Commandments" to a little girl, in Liberty, a village in the suburbs of Salem. Salem is a Moravian town, with a population of perhaps fifteen hundred. The inhabitants are generally of Dutch descent. Though the Moravians, and even this church in Salem, were once opposed to the peculiar institution of the South, many members of Salem church are slaveholders. The reverend gentlemen had not been in the place but a short time ere the news took the wings of electricity, and flew through the entire town. "The preachers have come!! The abolitionists are here!!!" Great was the excitement among the people. Some said, "They ought to be lynched!" others, "They ought to be hung!" and other some, "No attorney ought to appear for them," &c.

The defendants employed two attorneys—Messrs. Morehead and Mendenhall—the largest slaveholders in Guilford county.

THE INDICTMENT

Contains two specifications. The first charges Jesse McBride and Adam Crooks of, with force and arms, knowingly, wickedly, and unlawfully, with intention to excite insurrection, conspiracy, and resistance in the slaves or free negroes and persons of colour within the State, bringing into the State, with intent to circulate, a printed pamphlet, named and styled the "Ten Commandments," the evident tendency of which pamphlet would be and is to excite insurrection, conspiracy, and resistance in the slaves or free negroes and persons of colour within the State, contrary to Act of Assembly, &c. . . . and against the peace and dignity of the State.

The second specification charges the said Jesse McBride and Adam Crooks of, with force and arms, wickedly, seditiously, knowingly, and intentionally circulating said pamphlet within the State, with an intent to excite insurrection, conspiracy, and resistance in the slaves or free negroes and persons of colour within the State; which pamphlet, with other seditious teachings and doctrines, contains the following. (Then follow various extracts from the pamphlet.)

WITNESSES

On the part of the State (the defendants had no witnesses) sworn, and testify the following:—

Washington Kenedy. That defendants stayed one night at my house in Liberty. I left early in the morning; returned in the evening, and found the pamphlet at my house. They behaved like ministers.

Lora Kenedy. McBride gave me the pamphlet in the absence of Crooks. He said nothing to me when he gave it. I think this is the one he gave me; I put no mark on it by which to distinguish it from any other pamphlet of the same name. I go to Sabbath school; there are no coloured persons at school or at home.

Mr. Waddell read the pamphlet in open court. This was done to identify it.

Mr. Shore. I saw this book at my house. I do not know who brought it. I did not read it or mark it. James Kenedy came to my house one morning and got it. I think this is the same.

James W. Kenedy. I saw McBride give a little book to my sister Lora. I was in the yard. Crooks was not in the house. My father sent me to Mr. Shore's after it. I brought it to Belo's store.

Edward Belo. I got this book of James W. Kenedy. It is the same; I put my name on it.

Henry Marshal. I heard McBride preach at ———. He said he was not in favour of amalgamation or insurrection; was opposed to war of all kinds; would not have the slaves take swords and guns and murder their masters; he was the friend both of the slave and his master. And he invited us to come to his trial at Salem; he was indicted for giving a little white girl the "Ten Commandments."

David Idle. Never had got a book, pamphlet, or tract, from either McBride or Crooks.

Newel Sap. Heard McBride say he would preach the truth independently, and Crooks that he would suffer his right arm to be cut off rather than withhold the truth.

Mr. Gilmer, counsel for the prosecution, said, he did not arise out of antipathy to the defendants, but from a sense of duty, &c. Said we had a right to speak of slavery privately, but never in the presence of slaves; that "knowingly" made the design of the law obvious; that post-masters might hand out an anti-slavery document ignorantly, but the design of the law is to prohibit any and all circulation of anti-slavery publications,

either among white or coloured persons; that the law was established just after the Southampton insurrection, and was made with great care and caution; that these men certainly brought the "Ten Commandments" into the State. McBride was recently from the State of Ohio, and the fact that he had it in his possession was legal evidence that he brought it into the State. But it has been argued that the pamphlet was not given with an evil intent. The law supposes a man to intend all that may legitimately flow from his conduct. Look at the manner in which the pamphlet was given the child. That he did not say *one word* to her, shows clearly his intention in giving her the book. He did not ask her to read it when he gave it to her, nor did he on his return, at the time of giving the pamphlet to the other children, say, "Lora, have you read your little book? how do you like it?" or any thing of the kind. No; but in a sneaking and sly way, when all were out but the little girl, slips to his trunk, and hands her this little book. Crooks, in order that he might appear innocent, stepped out of the house. No doubt but he was knowing and consensive to it all, and hence accessory. McBride says he will go ahead independently, law or no law. Crooks says he will suffer his right arm to be cut off before he will give up circulating such pamphlets. The speaker remarked on the dreadful consequences of circulating such incendiary publications and of McBride's preaching; said it would bring on insurrection. Knives, guns, swords, burning houses, cruelties and barbarities were largely and fearfully described.

Mr. H. Waddell followed on the same side, and said, I have often stood in defence of criminals, but never felt so awfully as I do at this time. I am not defending one life, but thousands of lives. I am pleading for my country, for the security and safety of our wives and children, &c. The Northern people are the best men to teach us morals on the slavery question, since many of them have got rich by selling their slaves. The abolition of slavery has been put off by northern fanatics. Why, do we want men from Ohio to come and teach us morals? We have preachers enough of our own. Ohio is nearly, or quite, as bad a place, on account of abolition, as New England. Paul sent Onesimus home, but McBride would not. McBride called people cowards. What language for a preacher! He (McB.) is a bold man." Here some pretty strong epithets were used:—e.g., in speaking of anti-slavery doctrines, the speaker called them hellish principles, &c. The sympathies and fears of the jurors were loudly appealed to. Mr. W. said, If these men may go unpunished, then have no law against the midnight assassin, &c. The speaker called attention to, as supremely exceptionable, the words of the Rev. John Wesley in the pamphlet, where he speaks as follows:—"Whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late,—INSTANTLY." The word *instantly*, Mr. W. thought, was very significant.

G. C. Mendenhall, on behalf of the defendant, said, In the discharge of my duty as an attorney, I appear to see that these men have a full, fair trial. Nor do I arise to try to please those around me, or to make half a plea. Said Mr. M., even this jury has been threatened, provided they did not convict these men. Mr. Waddell informed you, that "if you clear them, you may see the day you will bitterly regret it." It has been charged upon them, that they have come into our midst unasked for. Why, does not that gentleman know they are here as regular ministers of the Gospel? That they were sent for by your own citizens; that one has been here three years, and the other not quite so long? They preach against intemperance, and the Moravians ought not to oppose them on this ground; and against war, just as the Moravians once did. The Quakers, from whom I sprung, protest, and have for a hundred years, against *slavery*. For doing nothing more, these men must be dragged up before this court as felons. Is it in testimony that these men have at any time interfered with slaves? Where is the man who gave such evidence? Let us look at the intention of giving the pamphlet. By raking and scraping their camp meetings, and McBride's meeting at Bethlehem, &c., not one word has been brought to show that they have any sympathy with insurrection, but right to the contrary. Is it in testimony, that the pamphlet was circulated with an intent to have it get among, or into the hands of negroes? No such advice was given the little girl, who was herself a white girl; her father held no slaves, and there was none about the house. These men have a right to use means to gain proselytes; and believing as they do, that slavery is sinful, they have a right to convince masters and freemen that it is wrong. Mr. Waddell says, "Such a hellish firebrand as the 'Ten Commandments' was never circulated in this country." I'll show him that other ministers have brought and circulated things as bad as this little pamphlet, and that every intelligent Methodist minister keeps and circulates books equally strong against slavery. Presbyterians and Quakers do the same. But it cannot be that these men design to raise an insurrection, for they are here to suffer with us. And for what have they come? to set the slaves at butchering their masters? No. But having brought their earthly crowns and laid them at their Master's feet, have come here as humble ministers of the Gospel of the meek Redeemer. Why, said Mr. M., it is plain this pamphlet was not intended to go among slaves, for it is not addressed to them, but their masters. Again, the slaves cannot read, and there is no evidence that McBride advised the little girl to read it to them,

but directly the contrary. And why is it, gentlemen of the jury, they have indicted Crooks? There is not one particle of evidence against him. Not any. I fear the object was to influence the jury to compromise, acquit one and convict the other. I have seen too many such compromises. Where is the witness to testify that either of these men brought the pamphlet into North Carolina? The State would have you believe that we must prove ourselves innocent; that the fact of possession is evidence. Have they nothing?—did they never have anything but what they brought into the State? There is something remarkable about the prosecution,—here are three of the wealthiest men in Salem, prosecutors. Was not one enough? But that would not give sufficient character to all this excitement. I fear, and I awfully fear there is too much ground of fear, that there is a design, in all this, to force a conviction of these men. Mr. Waddell, with the appearance of sincerity, told you not to suffer yourselves to be influenced by any appeals which had been made, or which may be made, on either side, &c. No, no, that gentleman would not have you become excited. I bring up burning houses, streaming blood, and dying men, women, and children, but don't suffer yourselves to be excited.

The Judge having first charged the jury in a manner most unfavourable to the prisoners, the following verdict was returned. "Crooks not guilty. McBride not guilty of the first, but guilty of the second charge, and ask for him the mercy of the Court." The sentence was not immediately pronounced. About eleven o'clock, Brother McBride's counsel, Mr. Morehead, moved for a new hearing, and required the State to show cause why it should not be granted. A new hearing being refused, the Judge passed

SENTENCE.

That Brother McBride should stand in the pillory one hour, receive twenty stripes, and be imprisoned in the county gaol one year, and that the sheriff proceed to inflict the penalty immediately.

An appeal was entered, and Mr. McBride was bound over in the sum of 1,000 dollars to appear in due course, when the question of the validity of the appeal will be tried.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM JOHN G. WHITTER TO JOSEPH STURGE, DATED AMESBURY, JAN. 7, 1851, ON THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF THE UNITED STATES.

Since I last wrote, we have been greatly distressed by the operation of the wicked Fugitive Slave Law upon our poor coloured fellow-citizens. I have never felt so keenly the shame, and sin, and cruelty of slavery, as for the last few months; and in labouring to awaken the popular feeling against this terrible enactment, I have found it exceedingly difficult to speak and act with the moderation and prudence which should characterise the efforts of a Christian reformer. In my weak state of health the excitement has been very trying to me. I felt bound, in the interim, on the occasion of declining the nomination of Senator in this State by the democratic party, to declare that *I could not obey the law, that I should treat it as null and void, and open my door to the hunted fugitive in spite of its cruel provisions.* It cannot be obeyed by any man who professes to be a Christian or a friend of his kind; and it is a sad thing to have morality and justice on one side, and law on the other. But so it is; and while I deprecate with my whole heart any virulent resistance, I see no way left for us than to disobey the unrighteous act, and bear the penalty of fine and prison.

A case has just occurred in Philadelphia which shows, in a true light, the character of this law. A coloured man was seized by constables, under a false pretence, dragged before the slave commissioner, and although he produced two witnesses to prove him a free man, he was pronounced a slave, on the oath of a wretch who was then awaiting his trial for kidnapping, and hurried off to Maryland. Happily an officer of respectability accompanied the kidnappers and their victim to his pretended owner, who, on seeing him, had the honesty to declare *that the man was not his slave!*

Since writing the above, a poor young coloured man has been sent back into slavery from New York. Our noble friend, Lewis Tappan, made strenuous, but unavailing, efforts to save him; thou wilt doubtless get from him a full account of the case.

Our State legislature is now in session, and it is pretty certain that Charles Sumner—the true friend of peace and freedom, and every good word and work—will be chosen U. S. Senator, for six years from the 1st of 3d month next. He will, if elected, take the place which Daniel Webster has dishonoured.

Thou wilt be sorry to hear that the *Non-Slaveholder* has ceased to exist. Our dear friends, Samuel Richards and A. L. Pennock, sustained it a very long time, almost unaided. Nevertheless, the concern to avoid, as far as practicable, the use of slave products, is increasing, especially in our Society.

Home Intelligence.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

We call the attention of our readers to the following correspondence. We are glad to find that the subject is occupying so much of public attention.

"TO THE COUNCIL OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, DUBLIN.

"GENTLEMEN,—I desire to bring under your notice a question of deep importance to the commercial interests of these kingdoms, and one also of much interest to every man whose heart is moved by the wrongs of suffering humanity. I allude to the African slave-trade, which is carried on by the people of Cuba and Brazil, under the sanction of their Governments. Probably you are all aware that, so long since as the year 1817, the Spanish, and in 1830 the Brazilian, Governments entered into solemn treaties with our Government, guaranteeing the entire abolition of the African slave-trade, so far as their subjects were concerned in it, and stipulating that every African who might be surreptitiously brought into their respective countries, subsequent to the years 1820 and 1830, should be declared a free man. To effect this desirable end, Great Britain paid a large sum, about one million sterling, I believe, to the Spanish and Brazilian Governments. And again, in 1835, Lord Clarendon concluded a treaty at Madrid, in which the complete abolition of the slave-trade was again guaranteed.

"The faithlessness of the two Governments in question is notorious—they pocketed our money, and they have basely connived at the continuance of the slave-trade by their subjects.

"Various causes, with which I am unacquainted, prevented the British Government from demanding of Spain and Brazil the fulfilment of their solemn engagements; but it is believed that the time has arrived when our Government, or at least some influential members of it, would be well pleased at some exhibition of popular feeling on the subject, such as would afford them an excuse for more seriously than they have yet done it, demanding of Spain and Brazil the full performance of their contracts.

"I have learned from Mr. David Turnbull, who was so long a resident in Cuba and Jamaica, and who held the office of judge in the Mixed Commission Court, which was formed for the protection of such Africans as might be found on board of captured slavers, that the time is now ripe for an effective movement on the part of the British and Irish people, in relation to this great question of humanity.

"It has occurred to me that you would be likely to take up the matter with vigour, and ably assist us in carrying it to a successful issue.

"It is a question of vital importance to our West Indian colonies, in this way: The continued importation of negroes into Cuba and Brazil, as the planters in these countries work their old hands to death, enables them to keep up a cheap supply of labour, and thus to compete, on unfair terms, with the planters in our colonies.

"I am informed, on the authority of Mr. Turnbull—and better authority I believe could not be found—that the planters in our colonies are agreed to a man, that they could successfully compete in the markets of the world with the sugar-growers of Cuba and Brazil, if these importations of fresh negroes were put an end to, and these planters left dependent for their future supply of labourers on the natural increase of their slaves.

"This being the case, it is manifestly our interest that the Cuban and Brazilian people should be obliged, if possible, to fulfil their treaties. In order to effect this object peacefully, Mr. Turnbull proposes that the British Government shall endeavour to have the jurisdiction of the Mixed Commission Court at the Havana extended, so as to embrace an inquiry into the state and condition of all our negroes who may be found in Cuba and Brazil, after a day to be named, and to throw the onus of proving their legal ownership upon the masters. Other means of effecting the object might be suggested: such as a demand on the Spanish and Brazilian Governments for the monies we paid them, as our stipulations in the treaties referred to, and interest thereon; to these might be added our equitable claim on these powers for repayment of all the expense we have been put to in keeping up our squadron on the coast of Africa for the interception of Cuban and Brazilian slave traders; and Great Britain might offer to refer these claims to the decision of some friendly power.

"It is hardly likely that these various claims, if properly pressed, should fail of accomplishing good results, and such an object appears to me well worthy the attention of the Chamber of Commerce, Dublin.

"I forbear largely to press on your attention, in relation to this matter, the claims of suffering humanity, when these unite with serious commercial grievances in demanding your zealous labours, as the organ of the merchants of Dublin, for inquiry and amendment. I trust I have made out a sufficient claim for your active co-operation in so good a work.

"You will be so kind as to consider whether a public meeting, or a private appeal to Government, in your official capacity, would be the best course for you to pursue. I would suggest that, as the matter is of such importance, it would be well for you to act in both these ways, so as to secure as large an amount as possible of public opinion to support our Government in such peaceful measures as they may deem it right to

adopt, in order to abolish for ever the slave-trade and all its dreadful concomitants.

"I remain, Gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

"JAMES HAUGHTON.

"35, Eccles-street, 6th Sept., 1850."

"Chamber of Commerce, Dec. 30, 1850.

"DEAR SIR,—In reference to your letter of the 6th September last, respecting the Brazilian and Cuban slave-trade, I am directed by the Council of the Chamber of Commerce to enclose you copies of their correspondence with Lord Palmerston on the subject, and remain, very truly yours,

"JOHN ARMSTRONG, Assistant-Secretary.

"James Haughton, Esq."

"Chamber of Commerce, Dublin, Dec. 16, 1850.

"MY LORD,—I am directed by the Council of this Chamber to entreat your lordship's attention to the continued violation, on the part of the Governments of Spain and the Brazils, of the treaties subsisting between these powers and Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade.

"These treaties are so familiar to your lordship, and their habitual violation, and the consequent injury to the interests of the West India trade, are so notorious, that it would be an unwarrantable trespass on your time to refer to these topics in detail; but I am desired by the Council most respectfully to express their earnest hope, that a subject so important to a great branch of commerce, and involving, moreover, the best interests of civilisation and humanity, will receive your lordship's immediate and energetic attention.

"I have the honour to be, my lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"FRANCIS CODD, Hon. Sec.

"To the Right Hon. the Lord Palmerston."

"Foreign-Office, Dec. 26, 1850.

"SIR,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th inst., in which, on behalf of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, you request his lordship's immediate and energetic attention to the continued violation, by the Governments of Spain and Brazil, of the treaties subsisting between this country and those powers for the suppression of the slave-trade.

"I am, in reply, directed by his lordship to request you to inform the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, that this important and interesting matter has long and strongly engaged the deep attention of her Majesty's Government; and that there seems at present reason to hope that the treaty engagements of Spain and Brazil, in regard to the suppression of the slave-trade, will, for the future, be better observed than they have hitherto been.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

"Francis Codd, Esq."

"P.S.—I have only further to suggest, in relation to the important subject of the foregoing correspondence, that all other public bodies in the United Kingdom should take it up as the Council of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce have done.

"10th January, 1851."

"JAMES HAUGHTON."

THE SLAVE-TRADE TREATIES.—PUBLIC MEETING AT EDINBURGH.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, convened by the Lord Provost in compliance with an influential and numerous-signed requisition, was held on Monday, the 21st of January, in the Music Hall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to enforce the treaties existing with Spain and Brazil for the suppression of the slave-trade. Considering the unfavourable state of the weather, the audience was highly respectable.

On the motion of Mr. Wigham, the Lord Provost was called upon to preside.

The Rev. Dr. Alexander moved the first resolution, which was as follows:—"That, esteeming slavery to be a flagrant sin in the sight of God, as well as a violation of the natural and inalienable rights of man, this meeting deplores its continued existence in the United States of America, in the Spanish West India colonies, and in Brazil; and regards the enactment of the oppressive Fugitive Slave Law by the American Legislature, as a lamentable proof of the hold which a system so fraught with iniquity retains over an enlightened and professedly Christian nation."

Bailie Dick seconded, and the Rev. Dr. Pennington supported the resolution.

Dr. Candlish moved the second resolution, viz.:—"That this meeting views with deep regret and indignation the continued prosecution of the African slave-trade, with all its former enormities, by the subjects of Spain and Brazil, under the connivance, and even with the encouragement of the officials of their respective Governments, in contravention of solemn treaties ratified with Great Britain, and in violation of the laws of those countries."

Mr. John Macnab seconded the resolution.

Mr. Sheriff Craufurd then moved the next resolution as follows:—

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the supply of slave labour, thus unrighteously obtained by the Spanish colonies and Brazils, and as recklessly expended, is injurious to the prosperity of our own free colonies, by subjecting them to unfair competition; and that it is the duty of the British Government, alike on the ground of humanity, of justice, and of sound policy, to adopt measures for enforcing the fulfilment of those treaties which, if faithfully observed, would be effectual in suppressing the African slave-trade; and also to obtain the liberation of those Africans who, in violation of treaties, are now held in slavery."

The Rev. George Blyth, from Jamaica, seconded the resolution.

Dr. Greville then read the draft of petition to both Houses of Parliament, founded on the resolutions, which he proposed should be sent to the Earl of Rosebery for presentation to the Lords, and to the city members for presentation to the Commons.

Councillor Clark seconded the motion, which was cordially agreed to.

PETITION.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled:—

The Petition of a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, convened by the Lord Provost of the City, on the 20th day of January, 1851,

Humbly sheweth,

That your Petitioners deplore the continued prosecution of the African slave-trade, to an enormous extent, and with undiminished atrocities, notwithstanding the costly sacrifices of this country for its suppression.

That your Petitioners are indignant to learn that it is with the connivance, and even the direct encouragement, of the officials of Spain and Brazil, that this hateful traffic is thus carried on, in contravention of solemn treaties ratified with Great Britain, which, if faithfully observed by the Governments of those countries, would be effectual for its abolition.

That, in the opinion of your Petitioners, the supply of slave labour—thus unrighteously obtained and recklessly expended by the Spanish colonies and Brazil—gives rise to unfair and injurious competition with the free labour of our own colonies, and tends to impair some of the beneficial results of the British Act of Emancipation.

Your Petitioners, therefore, entreat your Honourable House, alike on the ground of humanity, of justice, and of sound policy, to adopt such measures as in your wisdom may seem fit, for securing the fulfilment of the aforesaid treaties, and for the liberation of those Africans who, in violation of treaties, are now held in slavery.

And your Petitioners, &c.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—In the session of the Senate on the 15th of January last, Mr. Clay presented three petitions from Indiana, praying that Congress would adopt some steps to remove all those free coloured people in the United States who were willing to go to Africa, and that provision be made for their support for one year after their arrival there. Also a petition from Rhode Island, praying that more effectual means might be adopted for the suppression of the African slave-trade. The petitioners depicted the horrors of the trade in vivid colours, and represented that the measures adopted by Great Britain, France, and the United States, by keeping up squadrons on the coast of Africa, had proved a failure. That the only effectual remedy for the suppression of the African slave-trade was the encouragement of, or the establishing colonies all along the coast of Africa. The colonies now there, within their limits had wholly suppressed the trade, and they occupied one-third of the coast. The petitioners asked that a line of steamers, or of packet vessels, might be established to ply between America and the coast of Africa. Mr. Clay said these petitions had suggested to him the importance of the subject. He alluded to the report lately sent to the Senate by the state department, in which it appeared that the importation of slaves into Brazil, Cuba, and other southern countries, had increased immensely. That trade was mainly carried on by American vessels. Ninety-three American vessels cleared within one year from ports in Brazil for the coast of Africa. Those American vessels were sold in the Brazilian ports, on condition that they be delivered in ports on the coast of Africa. The vessel, therefore, while actually sold, sailed to Africa under the American flag. When arrived there, the captain saw the agent to whom he was to deliver the vessel. He then informed his crew that the vessel was sold, that a new crew was to be shipped, and that the American flag was to come down. The poor sailors had the alternative to remain and perish from want on the coast of Africa, or to ship and navigate the vessel with a cargo of slaves to Brazil. It had been recommended, as a means of breaking up this proceeding, that the United States should refuse to grant sea letters, or other documents, allowing vessels to sail from any of these ports to the coast of Africa, for there was no trade to carry them there except the slave-trade. All agreed

that the squadron on the coast of Africa had been a failure, so far as stopping the slave-trade; at all events, it was ascertained that the good results had not been equivalent to the great cost and sacrifice of health and life in keeping the squadron up. The United States keep up the squadron on the coast of Africa under the eighth article of the treaty of Washington, amounting to a force of eighty guns; and also a squadron on the coast of Brazil. These squadrons cost half a million of dollars annually, besides a great sacrifice of life and health. He thought that if these squadrons, as they did not prevent the trade, were withdrawn, there would not be such a sacrifice of African lives. He thought there was no effectual remedy to suppress the slave-trade but the occupation of the whole coast by colonies, and thus stop the trade at home and on its threshold.

By the treaty of Washington, the United States was only obliged to keep the squadron on the coast of Brazil for five years. Those five years had long since expired. It was a question of financial economy, whether that squadron should be kept up at such an expense, and the lives of gallant seamen be jeopardised and sacrificed, when no good fruits follow. There was no project of the age equal to that of transporting, with their own consent, to the coast of Africa, the people of colour. What was to become of them in the States? In Washington, under the eye of Congress, their numbers had been doubled in the last ten years. Many of the States of the Union had already adopted legislation for their exclusion, and prohibitions against them had been adopted in several State constitutions. What, in the name of humanity, was to become of them? Nothing could be done for their relief, except to transport them to the home of their ancestors. It would benefit the whites at the North, the slaves at the South, and greatly improve the condition of the poor creatures themselves, for if they remained in America they must continue to be a degraded race. No one,—no section, or state, or country, could be injured by their colonisation on the coast of Africa. If they could only give up the prejudices and unhappy causes of the agitation which had so long disturbed them,—if the people of the North would only permit the people of the South to conduct and manage their own domestic affairs for themselves,—if they would only consider that if slavery be an evil, it is confined only to the people of the South,—if they would only join in this grand scheme, this only effectual means to benefit the free negroes, how much peace and harmony would result? He moved, and the memorials were referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE CHOLERA.—It is impossible to ascertain with correctness the extent of the epidemic in this island. The accounts received by the last mail, though they bring, on the whole, more favourable reports, nevertheless reveal a most deplorable amount of suffering and death. The *Trelawny*, of the 27th of December last, says:—"The present condition of Jamaica is unparalleled in her past history. The island has suffered from the effects of storms and earthquakes; but never has it been the painful duty of a journalist to record such utter misery, and consequent prostration of the interests of the island, as that which we are at present labouring under. The very sinews of the land are being cut asunder by the destruction of her peasantry and her planters. In a thinly populated country, such as Jamaica is, in comparison to other countries, the loss of 30,000 souls, by death, is an irreparable injury, at least, for years to come." We are glad to find that Kingston is now free from the pestilence, and that in other districts the disease wears a milder form. In some of the parishes, however, the most heart-rending scenes are witnessed, and the greatest distress experienced. The *Falmouth Post*, of the 17th of December, says:—"The accounts which are before us, of the ravages of cholera in every part of this parish, are distressing. Districts are being depopulated. From Rio-Bueno, Mr. Stewart writes, that there has not been a single recovery. At Stewart Town, the cases and deaths are considerable. In the Good Hope, Tilston, Bunker's Hill, Lansquinet, and Dee Side district, the mortality is fearful. Irving Tower and Martha Brae are suffering severely, and, in fact, the cholera is everywhere in Trelawny. In the town of Falmouth, there has been an alarming increase since the publication of our last number; and in the absence of official returns, we refrain from harrowing the feelings of our readers, by giving insertion to the reports that have reached us. The exertions of the medical men, the rector, the magistrates, and private individuals, are untiring. Every one is trying to do all that he can, and many are exhausted from their labours. We fervently pray that the God of mercy will be gracious to us all, for without His Divine assistance all human efforts will be in vain." The *Post* of the 24th contains the following additional particulars:—"The post has brought us our usual record of death and suffering from various parts of the island. St. Thomas in the East continues to furnish numerous victims to the fatal disease, and from all we can learn, cannot at this moment have contributed a smaller number than 1,600 to the aggregate mortality, caused by the introduction of the malady into Jamaica. The deaths in the Plantain Garden River district (No. 4) amounted on the 16th instant to 797; and on that day, 16 deaths had

taken place on Wheelerfield, 2 on Holland, 2 at Holland Bay, 2 at Hordley. There had been no fresh cases on Golden Grove since the 12th, and no deaths since the 5th December, and Duckenfield has also been without any fatal cases since the 11th. Generally speaking, therefore, the disease may be said to have greatly abated in this district. The deaths, on seventeen estates specified, had been 797 out of 1,217 cases. The disease has been making sad havoc in the usually healthy little parish of St. George. The deaths, as far as can be ascertained, have been 252. There have been also several deaths in the Balcarres district, including Fairfield, Coolshade, and Silver Hill, and there have been some fatal cases in other places, but their numbers have not been reported. Our correspondent estimates the aggregate numbers at 300, up to the date of his letter. The disease continues its ravages at Port Maria, but the population has been so reduced in numbers by death and flight, that the rate of mortality had become materially diminished. A correspondent writes us that there are not fifty souls left in Port Maria, Manning's town, and Stennett's village. The deaths, up to five o'clock of the evening of the 16th of December, were 433. The following bill of mortality shows the disease to be decreasing: Friday, 13th, 10 deaths; 14th, 6; 15th, 4; 16th, 3. We regret to learn that several cases have occurred in the harbour, on board an American vessel. Not a human being could be hired on the Bay to assist in unloading her, and since her arrival she had lost one of her crew, and there were two others ill at the date of the communication before us. We are happy to learn that there has been great abatement of the disease at St. Ann's Bay and its vicinity. There had been but one death there in five days, although the cases had been numerous, yielding, however, to the treatment adopted by Dr. Bayley. The actual number of deaths on the Bay, ascertained by a 'house to house' visitation, has been 290. The estates are struggling to get to work again, and affairs begin to assume a brighter aspect."

The following extract from a letter, dated the 26th of December last, addressed by the Rev. James Reid, of the London Missionary Society, to his brother-in-law, the Rev. W. G. Barrett, will afford additional particulars:—"Long ere this reaches you," he remarks, "the melancholy tidings of the awful ravages which cholera has made, and is still making, in this island, must be known to you. Up to ten o'clock this morning, the total number of deaths from the commencement, four weeks ago, in this small town, with a population of 5,400, has been 705.

"For five days after its first appearance few cases occurred, but all at once it broke out with the utmost violence, and thirty, forty, fifty, fifty-five, and as high as sixty-four died every day. The disease is still prevailing, but in a milder form. In other parts of the parish, the mortality bears a proportion to that in the town. At Latrum estate, near Mr. Dendy's residence, one half of the people have perished. There were two villages on the property; one is completely depopulated. Attorney, overseer, and book-keepers left the estate on the first appearance of the distemper, and no medical aid was near. For three weeks I have done nothing but attend to the sick, the dying, and the dead; the ministers had each his respective district, and acted under the directions of the medical gentlemen. But for the efforts of gentlemen in connexion with the doctors, five in number, and under the blessing of God, the pestilence would have wrought greater devastation than it has done. In St. Ann's Bay, one third of the population has been carried off. It would baffle the pen of any one to describe the scenes of suffering, of poverty, of wickedness, which have been presented to the eyes of the visitors during these four weeks. Multitudes had not a rag to cover them, nor the means of procuring nourishment for the space of one day. They had to be supplied with covering and with food; their clothes were all their possessions. Professors of religion, with a few exceptions, were in the same state, although strong efforts had been made, previous to the appearance of the malady, to arouse them to a sense of the approaching danger. For some time the care of seven orphans has rested upon Mrs. Reid, and she has been as busily employed as I have been. An effort is being made to provide refuge for orphans and destitute children in this town. Poor Jamaica, the land of my adoption, what shall become of thee? What shall the end be!

"Since my settlement here, I have just managed, through dint of hard labour, to obtain from month to month the necessaries of life; but the prevalence of the disease has brought me to a stand. I have parted with the last shilling I have in the world. I now write, in this the season of my calamity, in the hope that some of God's people may be disposed to assist myself and fellow-labourers in this land of darkness and death."

KIDNAPPING OF BRITISH COLOURED SUBJECTS.—We have heard very often of the dangers run by coloured persons in visiting the slave States of America, and have hitherto been inclined to doubt the justice of those fears. Certainly, it has been said that more than one attempt has been made to convert young persons of colour, taken from Jamaica, into ready money, not only at New Orleans, but in some States much farther East; but we never have met with a statement which appeared on the face of it so authentic as one now before us. We have on our table a letter, signed *Samuel Willets*, a Quaker, of New York, dated 23rd November, 1850, and addressed to Mr. Alexander Wilkins, of this

city, which contains the following startling paragraph:—"About the 1st of this month, thy son, Alexander Wilkins, arrived here from Baltimore, Md. He was sent to me by my friend, W. E. Bartlett. I understand Alexander was induced to leave Kingston by a man named White, with the understanding that he resided in this city; but he is a resident of Maryland, where he took Alexander, and was about to sell him into slavery. My friend Bartlett interfered, took him before the British Consul at Baltimore, and proved his freedom, and, as before stated, sent him to me." Who the parties are, with the exception of the father of the unfortunate boy, who lives in this city, and to whom the letter, of which the foregoing is an extract, was addressed, we know nothing. But if the facts be true, they suggest a subject of vast importance. Nothing, perhaps, would be easier than for a designing person to seduce, by promises of advancement, young coloured persons from Jamaica, and having conveyed them to a Southern State, to consign them there to slavery. Nothing, we say, is easier than this; nothing more difficult than to undo the criminal act, once effected. We do not know, as we said before, who this Mr. White is, but should he ever appear again in Jamaica, we hope, for the sake of justice, that her Majesty's Attorney-General will be made acquainted with the fact of his presence.—*Jamaica Standard*.

TRINIDAD.—COLONIAL MISRULE.—The Government of Trinidad, were it not for the dread of public opinion in England, would be the most odious that could possibly exist. The Governor of this colony is all powerful, his rule is arbitrary. The legislative power is a docile instrument in his hands; since he has the faculty of choosing six members of this singular Council, of which the other six are in the pay of the Government. He is, consequently, certain of a majority. The laws which emanate from such a Council are, then, his work, since he has the power of altering them at his will and pleasure. Good or bad, they are the offspring of his imagination. Such a man has an immense influence on a country—an influence which needs be good, if he be just and capable; or pernicious, if weak and indifferent. He is then responsible for the wrong which is done. His decisions are known by the Home Government but several weeks after they are taken, and are approved or cancelled according as they seem good or bad. But how many evils may not be inflicted during the interval of a ministerial veto?

Chosen from among his friends, his flatterers, his creatures, the members of this Legislative Council represent but individual interests; they do not possess public confidence, and are only chosen as a semblance of constitutionality, for the purpose of shading the arbitrary character of the acts which emanate from such a Council. Should it so happen that they evince an opinion contrary to that of their master, they are immediately told by the Attorney-General that they are to approve and not to discuss: they, of necessity, submit. By means of mutual concessions, for which the people are made to pay, these folks ultimately come to an understanding. This is, and no mistake, a most hideous absolutism. The most revolting indecency presides at the creation of their laws. Whenever it is necessary, the standing rules are suspended, and a law is read a first, second, and a third time, and adopted at the same sitting. The law is made for them: it cannot be otherwise.

Such is the Government which the people of Trinidad are made to bear; such is the Government under which British subjects are made to groan, until it pleases God to ameliorate their condition, not perceiving that such a Government is made to exhaust, ruin, and revolutionise a country, were it a hundred times more fertile and peaceable than is unfortunate Trinidad.—*Trinidadian*, Nov. 6.

THE COURT OF INTENDANT.—Never, since this island has been freed from the cruel bonds of slavery, have we witnessed such *Turkish policy* inflicted on a suffering population. The Court of Intendant, with its accompaniments, are now the terror and abomination of the island. If we do endure it, if we do submit to it, it is because we are still obliged; because it coolly and callously tells more particularly on the poor alone, whose resistance is shamelessly abused or disregarded, and who have not yet the means nor the power to stem the torrent of a wretched system of government.

We will give our readers a short statement of monstrous facts, and leave the consideration of them to their good judgment and broad common sense.

There are 7,320 acres of land, and 181 houses, seized for the sum of 1,726 dollars. The whole of the properties amount to 282, of which 216 are, from 1 lot to 5 acres, belonging to small proprietors; 37, from 5 to 50 acres, belonging to the middling class of cultivators, and 29 to 50 and upwards to the higher class of agriculturists. The large properties, for some time past, have been mostly abandoned, while 253 of the others are in a great measure cultivated by their resident proprietors.

There are thirty-four wards which do not figure in the published list. Now, if these are to be subjected to a similar legal affliction, what will be

the dread condition of the wretched small proprietors of this island? Mr. Burnley has already stated it as his opinion, that the middling class of proprietors should be made to disappear altogether; we suppose, in order that there might be established here a state of things analogous to the curse of Ireland, whose paupered peasantry groans under the burden of an oppressive and unfeeling aristocracy. No doubt his Excellency will aid to his utmost the consummation of this insufferable plan, and by this means work out, in the estimation of a depraved Government, the colonisation of the country, and the advancement of civilisation among the labouring classes.—*Trinidadian*.

ANTIGUA.—EMIGRATION OF PEOPLE OF COLOUR FROM THE UNITED STATES.—House of Assembly, Thursday, Nov. 21.—His Honour the Speaker read the following letter from his Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, enclosing a circular from the Secretary of State.

"The Governor-in-Chief transmits, for the information of the House of Assembly, the accompanying copy of a circular despatch which he has received from her Majesty's Secretary of State, suggesting measures to be adopted for the encouragement of emigration to the West Indies from the United States."

"Downing Street, Oct. 16th, 1850.

"Sir,—I have to acquaint you, that it has been suggested to me, that a desirable class of emigrants for the West India colonies might be induced to come to them, from among the black and coloured population of the United States, whose arrival and location, if they chose to come, would, I have no doubt, be advantageous both to themselves and to the colonies.

"I am not aware of anything which can be done by the colonial Governments to encourage such immigration, beyond showing a readiness to pass Acts giving the privilege of naturalisation to any such persons who might come to settle there, and providing that a bounty should be payable on such immigrant, under such arrangements as may be thought desirable.

"I would also suggest, as deserving of consideration, whether laws might not be passed, rendering binding, on certain conditions, engagements to pay sums of money, which may have been agreed upon by immigrants, although such engagements may have been contracted in America, and while parties were in a state of slavery.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed)

"GREY."

"To the Officer administering the

Government of the Leeward Islands, &c. &c."

GRENADA.—The *Chronicle* furnishes the following statement of produce shipped for the past year:—

"5,201 hogsheads, 1,078 tierces, 20 half ditto, 2,883 barrels, and 4 half ditto of sugar; 1,403 puncheons, 86 hogsheads, 1 octave, and 38 quarter casks of rum; 527 puncheons, and 1 hogshead of molasses; 11 bags of coffee; 5 tierces, 203 barrels, 4,487 bags of cocoa; 12 bales and 2 bags cotton; 1 puncheon and 9 quarter casks of shrub; 1 hogshead and 3 quarter casks of lime juice."

The cultivation, it is remarked, gives promise of the forthcoming crop being larger than the above.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
Stoke Newington.—Ladies' Association	5	0 0
Tottenham.—Forster, Josiah	3	3 0
Fox, Samuel	5	0 0
Chelsea.—Alsop, Robert	1	1 0
Cheltenham.—Ball, Mrs.	1	0 0
Capper, Mrs.	1	1 0
Clutterbuck, Mrs.	0	10 0
Agnew, Miss.	1	0 0
Cumming, Mrs.	1	1 0
Cumming, Miss M. A.	1	1 0
Monro, F.	1	0 0
Yerbury, Miss	1	1 0
Wilcock, Mrs. and Miss	1	0 0
Exeter.—Hutcheson, Robert (Collected in box)	1	19 2
Leak.—Executor of W. F. Simmonds	5	0 0
Basingstoke.—Bell, S.	2	0 0
Helston.—Auxiliary	1	11 3
Gisbro'.—Coning, Ann	1	0 0
Aberdeen.—Wigham, Mary	0	10 0
Wigham, Barbara	0	5 0
Glenny, Elizabeth	0	5 0
Cruickshank, Mary	0	5 0
Macallan, Eliza	0	5 0
Glenny, Katharine	0	5 0
Wigham, Anthony	0	10 0
Parker, Susanna	0	5 0
Belfast.—Calder, F. A.	0	5 0